

KAMPUCHEA

DOSSIER

II

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PEKING'S SHADOW OVER ANGKOR

HOANG NGUYEN

In the article "From Phnom Penh to Peking" contributed to **"The Hoa in Vietnam — Dossier"** we pointed to the similarity between the actions of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and those of the Chinese authorities in their plot against the Socialist Republic of Vietnam : fabrications about Vietnam's "aggression against Kampuchea", "attempt at annexing Kampuchea to a Vietnam-controlled Indochinese federation", and now "ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents", all aimed at creating tension with Vietnam : intentionally provoked national enmity between their peoples and the Vietnamese people with a view to further straining relations between their countries and Vietnam by different methods of escalation while obstinately turning down all proposals of Vietnam for a negotiated settlement.

We came to the conclusion that this similarity stems from calculations of a strategic character : to weaken Vietnam, prevent it from healing the wounds of war and building socialism, compel it to renounce its independent and sovereign line and take a line alien to both its national interests and the interests of the world revolution.

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Much has been said about the brutal, inhuman regime installed three years ago in Kampuchea, the land of the world-famous Angkor Palaces and Temples, symbol of a resplendent civilisation dating back one thousand years. The whole world, almost without exception, has condemned the genocidal policy being carried out in Kampuchea under the signboard of a socialism which claims to belong to a completely new, original type. But the representative of the People's Republic of China in Kampuchea, Ambassador Sun Hao, who has been present all these years in Kampuchea and has been able to see with his own eyes what has happened to the Kampuchean people, holds quite different views. In a speech delivered at the reception given by Pol Pot to Chinese specialists on July 7, 1978, he said :

"While working in Kampuchea we have seen with our own eyes how, under the correct leadership of the Kampuchean Communist Party, the Kampuchean people have applied the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism to the practical conditions of the Kampuchean revolution, carried out socialist revolution and socialist construction in an independent, sovereign and self-reliant way and created new experiences in the process (*sic*). You comrades have worked with a self-sacrificing spirit, overcome all difficulties and obstacles, rapidly restored and developed the national economy, endeavoured to improve the material and cultural life of the people and have recorded new achievements on the agricultural, industrial, cultural, educational and medical fields. These achievements have moved and inspired everyone."

It was not surprising to hear the Chinese Ambassador laud the "marvellous achievements" of Democratic Kampuchea.

During the years of the "Cultural Revolution" in China the "little Red Book" was rapturously praised

by the leadership of the Kampuchean Communist Party and widely distributed in areas under its control. Where could the present "original" policies of Kampuchea originate from if not the examples set by that cultural revolution?

Whereas in nearly all the socialist countries, socialist transformation of agriculture is effected through the building of co-operatives advancing to ever higher levels, the Kampuchean rulers have set up at one stroke "people's communes" in which a kind of egalitarian and primitive communism is practised. Their name alone suffices to reveal their Chinese origins. In fact, the leadership of the Kampuchean Communist Party wants to build in their country a brand of socialism in which the peasant is the central figure — again a Chinese-inspired scheme. Here is the cadre line of the KCP as broadcast over Radio Phnom Penh:

"If we are to rely on the poor and destitute classes, that is the poor and lower-middle peasants, and if we do not want to let poor and lower-middle peasants' power fall into the hands of others, right now we must choose the men who are to hold power. These men must hold power in the kitchens, the cattle sheds, the medical service, education, children's centres, and on other fronts..." (Radio Phnom Penh, July 20, 1978).

Apart from the poor and lower middle peasants — but not those of that class who formerly lived in areas controlled by the Lon Nol administration — all other social strata are considered by the KCP either hostile or at the very least suspect. Special mention must be made of the intelligentsia. In Democratic Kampuchea there are no schools beyond the primary level. It is to be recalled that during the Cultural Revolution more than a decade ago all university professors in China were sent to the countryside for long-term reform, replaced in their

teaching jobs by "barefooted professors", that is, peasants.

When Phnom Penh was liberated on April 17, 1975, the first act of the new administration was, along with driving the population out of the towns, to order the burning of all books in the libraries of the universities, cultural establishments, and Buddhist institutes. Wasn't the performance of the works of Beethoven, Bach, Shakespeare, Molière and others banned in China during the cultural revolution?

Phnom Penh's slogan is "To have rice is to have everything". This, again, is a salient feature of a political line alien to scientific socialism, the origins of which are known to all. The Kampuchean authorities boast of their irrigation systems which have, so they claim, raised food output to such a level as not only to meet domestic needs but also to allow some exports. But if one looks into the present conditions of the Kampuchean working people who are forced to toil from morning till night with only two small riceballs to help keep body and soul together, if one knows that malnutrition coupled with overwork have killed hundreds of thousands of Kampucheans besides those dispatched by pickaxe, club and bullets — at least one million victims in total in the past three years — one will feel all the bitter irony of this boast. A closer look will tell us that due to the lack of technical guidance — specialists are either toiling in labour gangs or have been summarily executed — most of these irrigation systems have collapsed under heavy rainfalls, thus reducing to naught the efforts of those millions of labourers.

A Vietnamese proverb says: "When the mother sings, the son will applaud." Small wonder that, being a carbon copy of the Chinese prototype, the brand of socialism now being built in Kampuchea has been extolled to the skies by China in spite of all the facts made known to the world through the denunciations of tens of thousands of Kampuchean

refugees and also through a film shot by foreign reporters who had been selected and allowed by the Kampuchean authorities to enter their closed country.

Imitation of China is not confined to domestic affairs. No less dangerous is the fact that Phnom Penh is completely in Peking's orbit on international affairs.

The "three-world" theory enunciated by the Chinese authorities to rally anti-Soviet forces is being obediently followed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique.

Commenting on the conference of foreign ministers of non-aligned countries held in Belgrade last July, Radio Phnom Penh claimed that there had been at the conference "attempts at sabotage by some client countries of expansionist powers", concentrating its attacks on Cuba and Vietnam. Earlier, the Chinese propaganda machine had issued similar slanderous charges with the difference that while China accused the Soviet Union of "social imperialism", Democratic Kampuchea obliquely referred to it as an "expansionist power". Then, while Peking contracted a scandalous alliance with the mercenary Mobutu, Phnom Penh loudly praised the latter for his vociferous condemnation of Cuba's actions in Africa.

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In their international relations, China and Kampuchea consider opposition to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam as their common central task. The Chinese authorities first openly revealed their betrayal of the liberation cause of the Vietnamese people when they invited Nixon to Peking and shifted their foreign policy to an alliance with US imperialism in order

to oppose the three revolutionary currents (*) in the world. Since then China sought every way to hamper the victory of Vietnam. When this victory became imminent China started making fuller use of its pliant tool — the leadership of the Kampuchean Communist Party, whose chauvinism had long been known to it.

Relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea were already fairly complicated even in the days of their common fight against US aggression. In order to defeat the Americans and Lon Nol, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique had both to assist and at the same time to rely on Vietnam. But on the other hand, they did everything they could to lower the prestige and influence of the Vietnamese revolution and prevent sincere friendship from developing between the peoples and fighters of the two countries. What happened after the liberation of Phnom Penh is known to the whole world (see *Kampuchea — Dossier I*).

First of all Kampuchean troops attacked Vietnam's Phu Quoc and Tho Chu islands and made numerous incursions into Vietnamese territory along the border. However, their main concern at that time being the elimination of internal opposition, especially the followers of Lon Nol and Sihanouk, their anti-Vietnam activities did not yet reach a large scale. Meanwhile, their policy of fascist repression provoked strong opposition inside Democratic Kampuchea. Many well-known personalities in the Kampuchean administration and army, at the central as well as regional level, suddenly disappeared from the public scene. Riots and insurrections broke out here and

(*) The three revolutionary currents are: the building of socialism in the countries of the socialist system, the national liberation movement in countries under colonial or neo-colonial rule, and the movement for democracy and peace in the capitalist countries.

there. It was then that the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique's policy toward Vietnam took a sharp turn. In April 1977 the Khmer Rouge army began large-scale continuous attacks on Vietnam's territory all along the border. Under the pretext of resisting "Vietnam's aggression" the Phnom Penh rulers harshly repressed all opponents by sticking the "pro-Vietnam" label on them.

Meanwhile their ties with China grew closer. Chinese advisers and weapons were brought into Kampuchea in a steady flow. Big contingents of Chinese engineer troops were flown in to repair the port at Kompong Som and the railway linking it with Phnom Penh.

In October 1977 Pol Pot went to China and levelled veiled threats at Vietnam with the approval of his hosts. From December 3 to 15 of the same year Chinese Vice-Premier Chen Jung-kuei, a Political Bureau member of the Chinese Communist Party, visited Kampuchea. Pol Pot personally took his honoured guest on an inspection tour of areas along the border with Vietnam. The French news agency AFP in a report from Bangkok noted that these events were without precedent in Democratic Kampuchea. Speaking at the reception in his honour, the Chinese Vice-Premier declared: "No force can stand in the way of the friendly relations between China and Kampuchea which will remain for ever comrades."

A fortnight after this visit, on December 31, 1977 the Chinese authorities accorded the Kampuchean Ambassador in Peking the special privilege of using their press centre, till then exclusively reserved for Chinese use, to hold a press conference at which a statement of the Kampuchean Government full of gross slanders against Vietnam was made public (see *Kampuchea — Dossier I*).

By then China had not yet openly and directly come out against Vietnam in the Kampuchean issue.

But the Chinese press was instructed to reproduce biased reports by some Western news agencies under such headlines as "Vietnam launches aggression against Kampuchea", "Vietnam plots to overthrow the Kampuchean Government and force Kampuchea to join an Indochinese federation"...

A few days after Kampuchea had brought into the open the "Vietnam — Kampuchea border conflict" Vice-Chairman of the Chinese National People's Congress Teng Ying-chao, who had visited Kampuchea on January 19 and 20, 1978, told French Premier Raymond Barre, then on a visit to Peking: "In China's views, Kampuchea is victim of aggression by Vietnam. Vietnam is occupying three places on Kampuchean territory." This statement was reported by Western news agencies and reproduced by Western newspapers. Questioned by the Vietnamese side, a representative of the Chinese Foreign Ministry neither refuted nor denied the reports, saying that China could not give orders to foreign mass media.

Faced with acts of aggression by Kampuchea, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was forced to take up arms for self-defence while expressing its sincere desire to settle the dispute through negotiations.

On February 5, 1978 the Vietnamese side put forward a three-point proposal:

1. An immediate end shall be put to all hostile military activities in the border area, and the armed forces of each party shall be stationed within their respective territory five kilometres from the border.

2. The two sides shall meet at once in Hanoi or Phnom Penh or at a place on the border to discuss and conclude a treaty, in which they will undertake to respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; to refrain from aggression, from the use of force or threatening to use force in their relations with each other, from interference in each other's internal affairs, and from subversive

activities against each other; to treat each other as equals; and to live in peace, friendship, and as good neighbours.

The two sides shall sign a border treaty between the two countries on the basis of respect for each other's territorial sovereignty within the existing border.

3. The two sides shall reach agreement on an appropriate form of international guarantee and supervision.

The Kampuchean side simply ignored this constructive proposal and went on with its military attacks against Vietnamese territory. As for China, while intensifying its supplies by air and by sea to the Kampuchean authorities through Pochentong airport and Kompong Som port, it opened a second front against Vietnam to back up the poor military performance of the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique: the Hoa people issue was raised together with the spreading of rumours to the effect that "war has started between Vietnam and Kampuchea; China supports Kampuchea while the Soviet Union backs Vietnam; the war will escalate and the Hoa will suffer from several sides; they must leave Vietnam for China, the sooner, the better."

With China's encouragement and assistance, the Kampuchean authorities rushed headlong into a military adventure. In a review of "one year of fighting" (April 1977 — April 1978) broadcast over its radio on May 10, 1978 Phnom Penh admitted having thrown several divisions into the border attacks against Vietnam. "By January 6, 1978," the radio boasted, "we had completely swept the Vietnamese forces out of our country... We pressed our attacks until the end of January 1978. In February 1978 we resumed our attacks. Then in March and April we launched new and still bigger attacks involving division-sized units. After smashing the

enemy we immediately sent our forces to attack them right on their territory..." And this mouth-piece of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique made no bones about calling for "the sacrifice of another two million Kampuchians in order to completely wipe out the 50 million Vietnamese", adding: "then we shall still have six million people to build socialism". According to the broadcast, this war of "extermination against Vietnam" is to last 700 years, i.e. it will not end before the end of the 27th century!

Bent on executing the plans drawn up by Peking, the Phnom Penh authorities have turned down all negotiation proposals of Vietnam and even refused to accept a note sent on April 10, 1978 by Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Nguyen Duy Trinh to Ieng Sary, Kampuchean Vice-Premier in charge of external affairs, which urged Kampuchea to respond positively to the three-point proposal of Vietnam.

Finally, in face of world condemnation of its obstinacy, Phnom Penh sent to Vietnam a note dated May 15, 1978, pretending readiness to sit down at the negotiating table but at the same time setting four preconditions. It demanded that Vietnam:

1. Stop carrying out any attack of aggression, invasion and annexation against the territory of Democratic Kampuchea; stop any act of provocation and violation against the territory, territorial waters and airspace of Democratic Kampuchea; stop strafing, shelling and bombing raids against the territory and territorial waters of Democratic Kampuchea;

2. Stop sending spies to gather intelligence in the territory, territorial waters and islands of Democratic Kampuchea; stop carrying out any act of subversion and interference in the internal affairs of Democratic Kampuchea; stop carrying out attempts at coups d'état or other forms of activities aiming at

overthrowing the Government of Democratic Kampuchea ;

3. Definitively abandon the strategy aiming at putting Kampuchea under the domination of Vietnam in an "Indochina federation" following the doctrine of "one party, one country and one people" in an "Indochina" belonging to Vietnam ;

4. Respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea ; respect the rights of the Kampuchean people to decide by themselves their own destiny.

Kampuchea reserved for itself the right to decide, after a period of seven months, if the Vietnamese side had really observed the above-mentioned four points before Phnom Penh would sit down at the negotiating table.

Obviously, while being compelled to speak of negotiations Phnom Penh continued to refuse to negotiate by demanding that Vietnam stopped doing something it had never done in the first place. That was also when China high-handedly rejected Vietnam's proposal for talks in Peking in early June on the Hoa issue in Vietnam, calling this proposal "fallacious" and "made for propaganda purposes".

Persevering in its line of safeguarding the solidarity and friendship between the two peoples and seeking to settle all disputes between the two countries through negotiations, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam once again recalled its previous three-point proposal and put forward two new proposals aimed at enabling the two sides to get down to talks as soon as possible :

1. The two sides shall issue a joint statement, or each side shall make a separate statement, on ceasing all hostile military activities in the border regions at the earliest date possible to be agreed upon by

the two sides, and to station their armed forces within their respective territories, five kilometres from the border.

2. On the same date, the diplomatic representatives of Vietnam and Kampuchea in Vientiane or in another mutually acceptable capital shall meet to discuss and quickly reach agreement on the date, place, and level of a meeting between representatives of the Vietnamese Government and the Kampuchean Government, to settle problems in relations between the two countries.

Two months have elapsed since this new peace proposal was made on June 6, 1978. The only answer from the Kampuchean side has been an intensification of its armed attacks and its slander campaign aimed at whipping up national enmity between the two peoples.

In the meantime, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime has been meeting with increasing opposition from its own people and from genuine revolutionary forces inside the country while the Khmer Rouge army has taken ever heavier beatings at the hands of the Vietnamese armed forces and people. To try and explain this situation to the Kampuchean people and the world the Phnom Penh ruling circles have found a convenient pretext: all is due to the "intensification of the aggressive and subversive acts of Vietnam". On July 29, 1978 in an interview with the French paper *Le Monde* in Belgrade, Ieng Sary repeated what a spokesman of the Kampuchean Ministry of Information and Propaganda had announced more than a month before, on June 25, 1978: "Kampuchea has captured a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam who had entered Kampuchea to personally direct the military operations on Kampuchean territory. Others were also captured, among them four alternate Central Committee members of the Communist Party

of Vietnam and a former counsellor of the Vietnamese Embassy in Phnom Penh." This startling revelation was hastily reported by the Chinese *People's Daily* on August 2, 1978. The spokesman for the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs dismissed this as "a lie and an attempt at deception". He said, "Mr Ieng Sary has lied. Let him produce concrete evidence concerning the persons he claimed to have been captured by the Kampuchean side. Failing this he will have exposed himself as a liar before public opinion." Of course, Ieng Sary has so far failed to meet this challenge.

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The none-too-bright future facing the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique is forcing them into ever more dependence on their masters in Peking. In a joint effort to bolster up the sagging morale of the Khmer Rouge troops, Phnom Penh and Peking have hit upon the clever stunt of constantly reminding them of "the support of the more than 800 million Chinese people", a colossal prop, indeed, before any possible action by the Vietnamese who are only 50 million. Thus, on the weapons and ammunition supplied by China to the Kampuchean army the figure "800" is painted as a mysterious and all-powerful amulet.

On July 1st, 1978, the anniversary of the founding of the Chinese Communist Party, Pol Pot sent Peking the following tribute: "China has always stood by the proletariat, the people, and the oppressed nations in the world; she has always stood by the socialist countries and the Third World countries, and has always united with the countries struggling against the aggressive, expansionist, interventionist and oppressive acts of the imperialist and expansionist powers. In her relations with other countries in the world, big or small, the People's Republic of China

has set an example in upholding the principles of equality, respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence". This message was broadcast again and again by Radio Phnom Penh with the double aim of flattering Peking and propping up the faith of Pol Pot's cohort in Phnom Penh in their "great ally". But Pol Pot carefully avoided to say a word about Peking's relations with such men as Mobutu and Pinochet, hardly an illustration of China's stance of "always standing by the people and the oppressed nations of the world". Neither could Pol Pot then foresee the brutal treatment inflicted by Peking only a few days later upon its once closest ally, Albania.

In August 1978, in face of the increasingly critical military situation. Pol Pot sent Son Sen, Kampuchea's Vice-Premier and Minister of National Defence, on a mission to Peking to ask for more help. The prolonged talks between Son Sen and Chen Hsi-lien, Chinese Vice-Premier, augured even closer collusion between the reactionary forces in these two countries against the Vietnamese people and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. Phnom Penh was tying itself more closely than ever to Peking's chariot of adventure.

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At about the same time, Peking finally dropped the mask. Through an editorial of the *Peking People's Daily* on July 12, 1978 China unambiguously declared its full support for the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique in the war with Vietnam. This support had long been known to all, but now Peking itself proclaimed it.

Also for the first time, Peking, through the above-mentioned editorial, indirectly answered a big question which had been on the public mind: "Why has

China kept silent before the persecution and maltreatment of the nearly half a million Chinese residents in Kampuchea by the Kampuchean authorities while raising such a hue and cry over what it calls the "ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese nationals in Vietnam" by the Vietnamese authorities?" The Peking *People's Daily* gave this explanation: "It is the Kampuchean Government's policy to give equal treatment to both Chinese nationals and Kampuchean citizens, and allow the Chinese nationals the right to free choice on the question of their citizenship."

Thus, it matters little to Peking that these half a million Chinese residents are forced to work like convicts in labour gangs, that each day many are cut down by machinegun fire or simply smashed over the head with pickaxes by Pol Pot-Ieng Sary butchers, thus meeting the same fate as hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean citizens. This attitude indeed matches Peking's lavish praises of the "creative" policy of the Kampuchean rulers, a policy of genocide against their own people.

More important still, the above-mentioned editorial gives us the key to Peking's attitude and actions in the Kampuchean affair. Peking has officially adopted the slanderous theme propagated by Phnom Penh to the effect that "Vietnam wants to annex Kampuchea to an Indochinese federation controlled by Vietnam itself." On August 4, 1978, in an interview with the Japanese news agency Kyodo in Peking, Vice-Premier Li Hsien-nien explicitly said that "his country's opposition to Vietnam's plan for an Indochinese federation is one of the main causes of the tense relations between Hanoi and Peking." (*Reuter*, Tokyo August, 4, 1978)

It is known that the Peking authorities have long nurtured a dream of world hegemony. The first step in the realization of this plan is to establish China's

hegemony over Southeast Asia where Peking has some influence on the revolutionaries and where live about 20 million Chinese nationals.

In execution of this plan, Peking has sought to fasten its grip on Vietnam and one way to do so is to use Chinese aid to Vietnam as a means of pressure. However, while sincerely thanking China for any aid it may provide to the Vietnamese people's fight against US imperialism, Vietnam firmly maintains its independence and sovereignty. In its external policy, Vietnam advocates ever stronger ties of friendship and closer co-operation and mutual assistance in all fields among the three countries: Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea which are neighbours and have suffered under the same yoke of imperialist domination and which have fought side by side until complete victory for all. This co-operation and mutual assistance, as repeatedly emphasized by the Communist Party and Government of Vietnam, is based on respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual benefit.

The Chinese leaders are not pleased with the independent and sovereign line of Vietnam and still less pleased with the solidarity it advocates among the Indochinese peoples in safeguarding their respective national independence and sovereignty. They see in Vietnam and in Indochinese solidarity a major obstacle to their hegemonistic ambitions in Southeast Asia. As pointed out above, having failed to secure control over Vietnam, they have striven to get a hold on Kampuchea and have succeeded through the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. By using the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique and other means to oppose Vietnam, first raising the Hoa people issue, then cutting all aid to Vietnam, withdrawing all Chinese experts, closing Vietnamese consulates general in China, and finally officially proclaiming the slander that "Vietnam wants to form an Indochinese federation", the

Peking rulers have revealed their true colours. We have challenged the Phnom Penh authorities to produce a single post-1951 Vietnamese statement or document that proves that Vietnam intends to found an Indochinese federation. Now we challenge the Peking authorities to do the same. Through the "indochinese federation" charge they have been levelling at Vietnam, Peking as well as Phnom Penh only show their opposition to the Vietnamese advocacy of solidarity among Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea each maintaining full sovereignty, following a line of independence and freedom, and refusing to enter Peking's orbit.

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Everything now is clear. Peking wants to cast its colossal shadow on Angkor, the pride of the Kampuchean nation. A group of obedient henchmen in Phnom Penh are helping it realize this scheme.

However, history has shown that even the darkest imperialist shadows over Angkor have finally been swept away by the heroic Kampuchean people. It is certain that Peking will not fare any better.

August 15, 1978

FIGHTING GOES ON ALONG OUR BORDER

VU SON

On April 17, 1975, the Kampuchean Liberation Army entered Phnom Penh. The Kampuchean revolution had won complete victory, putting a glorious end to the sacred war of resistance of the Kampuchean people against the US imperialist aggressors and their henchmen.

The triumph of the Kampuchean revolutionary forces was a great encouragement to the nations struggling for their independence and freedom. Everybody thought that Kampuchea was now embarking on a new period of her history, that of building a peaceful, prosperous and happy country.

But things did not happen that way. Immediately after the liberation of Phnom Penh, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique launched a white terror campaign. They drove millions of people from the towns, hunted down and killed all those who had had the least connection with the former regime, carried out real genocide against the Cham minority people, and massacred hundreds of thousands of Chinese and Vietnamese residents. Then, barely 13 days after seizing power, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique betrayed the militant solidarity built by the peoples of Vietnam and Kampuchea with their blood and the common ideal long pursued by the two peoples. They launched a brutal war against

Vietnam, a country which had fought shoulder to shoulder with Kampuchea, through two wars of resistance, first against the French colonialists and then against the US imperialist aggressors, a country which had done all it could to help bring about complete victory for the Kampuchean revolution. This war has been going on for three years now.

Since May 1, 1975, the reactionary ruling circles of Kampuchea have repeatedly sent their armed forces to encroach upon Vietnamese territory in many places along our border from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh, causing heavy losses of life and property to the local population.

On May 4, 1975, a Kampuchean battalion landed on the Vietnamese island of Phu Quoc. On May 10, 1975, a large force of the Kampuchean army sent from the mainland and Troc (Wei) island attacked and occupied the Vietnamese island of Tho Chu. The invaders razed whole villages, killed large numbers of people and took away 515 others. When Vietnamese armed forces finally drove the invaders out, there were only 40 civilian survivors left on the island.

With the encouragement and support of the Chinese authorities the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique have steadily escalated their aggression, multiplied their armed attacks and violations of the territorial sovereignty of Vietnam.

The following methods have been applied by their armed forces: in the daytime they muster troops close to the border and send scouts disguised as civilians into many places on Vietnamese territory to gather intelligence. These armed groups avoid places defended by Vietnamese border guards. But as soon as they detect where defence is weak or absent, they will return to Kampuchean territory and lead whole units of their army across the border to these places where they will massacre the villagers and destroy the crops.

At night, under cover of darkness they send groups of commandos deep into Vietnamese territory. These soldiers fire B.40 or B.41 and M.79 guns on positions held by Vietnamese border guards or lay mines on roads and lanes, then withdraw. All the mines used by the Kampuchean forces are Chinese-made and bear Chinese markings: anti-personnel PK2 "jumping mine" which upon contact springs and explodes at waist level, K-58 mines which kills by its powerful blast and has a plastic case to escape magnetic detection; floating mines laid in waterways... All the weapons supplied by China to Kampuchea bear the figure 800, a "creation" of Chinese psychological warfare experts. It is devised as a constant reminder that the "800 million Chinese people stand firmly behind the Kampuchean people, ready to support their cause".

Since April 1977 the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique have expanded the war. Using large armed forces strongly supported by artillery positioned on Kampuchean territory, they have repeatedly opened simultaneous attacks along the border from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh. The intruders freely engaged in looting, killing and destruction, indulging in horrendous atrocities.

By May 1977 the Kampuchean side had broken off all relations between liaison committees of border provinces of the two countries.

After China invented the story of Vietnam's "ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents", the Kampuchean armed forces have taken even more brazen steps in co-ordination with the Chinese move. They have launched division-sized attacks, some with artillery and tank support, into many areas along Vietnam's border from Gia Lai — Kon Tum to Ha Tien.

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In their incursions into Vietnamese border provinces, the Kampuchean troops have engaged in killings and destructions of unprecedented brutality.

Wherever these black-uniformed troops go they perpetrate horrible atrocities. They kill civilians with club, pointed iron rod, fork, pickaxe and cutlass, breaking people's skulls, raping women then cutting their breasts and heads, throwing children into the flames...

At one o'clock on the morning of September 25, 1977 they burst into Tan Lap commune, Tan Bien district, Tay Ninh province, and massacred more than 500 persons. In a single small hamlet of this commune they burnt about 100 houses. Many families were killed to the last man, woman or child. The raiders shot grown-ups with sub-machine guns and beat children to death with rifle butts. In many cases, they strung a dozen children on a wire and dropped them into a well.

These barbarous intruders also destroy everything that could be of use to their victims. They take away cattle, poultry, clothes and even bowls and plates. What they cannot take they destroy, thrusting bayonets and pointed iron rods into every cooking pot, saucepan, tray and wash tub. In one case no fewer than 16 bayonet holes were counted on one small cooking pot. In their destructive frenzy, the raiders cut down every vegetable plant in the kitchen gardens.

The atrocities reached a peak when Kampuchean troops intruded into Bay Nui area, An Giang province, in April 1978. Wholesale massacres and destruction took place in Ba Chuc commune and a whole area stretching from Mount Tuong to Mount Dai was turned into a desolate and lifeless zone. The Kampuchean troops shot all those who had taken shelter in the pagodas. There were pools of blood on the floors and grisly splashes on the walls. The pagodas are now called by the survivors "Pagoda

500", "Pagoda 600"... according to the numbers of people killed at these places.

The reactionary rulers in Kampuchea have sought to arouse bestial instincts in their troops by every means.

In June 1976 a resolution of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean Communist Party was widely circulated among the Kampuchean army. The troops were told that "Vietnam is our enemy number one, the traditional enemy of Kampuchea, and is to be destroyed at any cost". Kampuchean troops were instructed to kill as many Vietnamese civilians as possible and to kill them in the most atrocious manner in order to "strike fear into the Vietnamese people". The Kampuchean ruling circles forced boys in their early teens to serve in the army, and by rousing wicked impulses in them, turned them into professional killers. These boys were trained by Chinese advisers in the use of Chinese weapons and military tactics. They learnt to kill with rifle butts and cutlasses, to smash their victims' skulls with pickaxes, to thrust pointed iron rods and pitchforks into their bellies and chests. They were ordered to spare neither women nor children because "the women will give birth to little Yuon* who will grow up into adult Yuon." The more they killed and destroyed, the more their "heroic" acts were praised.

The commanders of the Kampuchean army set ghastly "norms" for their soldiers: each time he goes into action, a man must kill a given number of Vietnamese civilians and burn a given number of houses, and failure to meet these norms will be considered dereliction of duty. The commanders also resort to dastardly methods to stimulate their men to surpass their "norms". For instance, any soldier who kills ten or more Vietnamese civilians in a raid will

* Pejorative for Vietnamese — *Ed.*

be granted three days' leave, and any who burns ten or more houses will be given extra rations of rice, etc. A pregnant woman killed is reckoned as two enemy personnel wiped out. This explains why in the areas invaded by Kampuchean troops almost all traces of life are obliterated.

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Vietnam has gone through 30 years of war against the French colonialists, then the US imperialist aggressors. After regaining complete independence and freedom the Vietnamese people aspire to nothing but lasting peace to rebuild their country and build a happy life for themselves. At the same time they are resolved not to lose an inch of their land.

To defend the lives and property of the people and the sacred territory of their motherland the Vietnamese armed forces have been compelled to fight back and drive the invaders out of the areas they have occupied.

On May 6, 1975, two days after Kampuchean troops landed on Phu Quoc island, the Vietnamese armed forces went into action and compelled the invaders to pull out. Afterwards the Vietnamese army recaptured Tho Chu island and chased the transgressors back to Troc (Wei) inland, their starting base.

However, after fulfilling their mission the Vietnamese armed forces demonstrated their goodwill by withdrawing from Troc island then by returning to the Kampuchean side the nearly 600 men captured during Kampuchea's attacks on Vietnamese territory.

And yet, in spite of repeated demands of the Vietnamese side the Kampuchean authorities have so far refused to return the 515 Vietnamese civilians captured by the Kampuchean army during its sur-

prise attack on Tho Chu island. Neither have they given any information about the fate of these persons.

The reactionary Kampuchean rulers have pursued a perfidious and treacherous policy. While Pol Pot, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean Communist Party, declared: "Those regrettable bloody clashes have happened because of the Kampuchean army's ignorance of geography" and Nuon Chea, Deputy Secretary of the Party Central Committee said: "On behalf of the Party we warmly thank Vietnam for her conduct in the Wei island affairs", the Kampuchean armed forces continued their attacks. As they became more and more aggressive, the Vietnamese armed forces had to take stronger counter-measures.

Fighting has become fiercer especially since April 1978.

On June 17, 18 and 19, 1978 a reinforced battalion of Kampuchean troops intruded into the Vietnamese border province of Tay Ninh and took up positions at Ben Cau. At 4.30 a.m. on June 21, 1978, the local armed forces engaged them and after two hours of bitter fighting completely wiped them out, killing 290, capturing many others and seized 52 assorted guns.

In mid-June 1978 Regiment 103 of the Kampuchean army intruded into the Ca Tum area of Vietnam. They built fortifications and formed a system of forward posts north of Ca Tum, turning this area into a springboard for future large-scale invasions.

At 6.30 a.m on June 21, 1978 the Vietnamese armed forces launched a punitive attack. All the three strongholds of the Kampuchean forces came under a powerful artillery barrage.

Following the artillery pounding Vietnamese infantry stormed enemy positions, attacking the invaders with sub-machine guns and bayonets. After only one hour the Vietnamese forces completely overran

the place, putting out of action a battalion and inflicting heavy losses on the two others. The survivors fled to Mimot.

At 21.00 hrs on June 16, 1978, a regiment of Kampuchean troops left their base at Baisombo, crossed Vinh Te canal on the border, and attacked the Nui Tuong and Nui Dai areas in Bay Nui district, An Giang province, in a four-prong operation.

They were equipped with Chinese weapons of improved types such as B.41 bazookas fitted with bipods and even flame-throwers, which China had purchased from western countries and supplied to the Kampuchean reactionaries.

Their target was to occupy the two hills and build a base for future large-scale raids deep into Vietnamese territory.

To avenge the thousands of civilians massacred in Ba Chuc by the barbarians in a previous raid, the local armed forces dealt a stunning blow at the invaders. The battle raged for several hours from 0.45 a.m. to 10 a.m. on June 17. The aggressors finally had to flee across the border, leaving 350 dead.

On July 1, 1978 the 17th Regiment of the mainforce division 703 of the Kampuchean army, composed of three battalions, made an incursion into Xanh village, Chau Thanh district. They were immediately driven back after losing a battalion composed of 250 men.

On July 22, 1978 the Kampuchean invaders again took a serious beating when they crossed the border into an area in the southwestern part of Ben Cau district. One battalion and one company were put out of action, 279 of their men were killed or wounded and many others captured. The Vietnamese forces also seized 117 assorted guns.

Although reeling under our counter-blows the Kampuchean aggressors remained stubborn and reckless. On July 26 they sent two regiments of Di-

vision 203 and Division 1 to invade an area in the southwestern part of Ben Cau district, only to take a still more serious beating. The local armed forces badly mauled two enemy battalions, putting out of action more than 400 men and capturing a large quantity of guns and ammunition.

On the same day, July 26, the Vietnamese armed forces in Loc Ninh district, Song Be province, took on five battalions of Division 117 of the Kampuchean attackers, destroying two of them, inflicting heavy losses on two others, putting out of action a total of 450 enemy troops.

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Fighting continues along our southwestern border.

Betraying the militant friendship between the two countries and running counter to the sentiments and interests of the Kampuchean people, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique continue to send large units of their army to encroach on the border areas of Vietnam. They are nursing the naive illusion that Peking's all-out support will allow them to achieve their aim.

But they are grossly mistaken.

The Vietnamese people are known for their indefectible loyalty to their friends. But they are also known for their tradition of victorious resistance against foreign aggressors, having successively defeated the vast invading armies of foreign feudalists from the north, the French colonialists, then the US imperialists. So long as the reactionary rulers in Kampuchea refuse to face realities and persist in their aggressive scheme they will continue to receive severe counter-blows.

GENOCIDE IN KAMPUCHEA

THANH TIN

There has been a lot of tension in the border areas during the last few days, and the things I have just heard at the camps for Kampuchean refugees are just horrifying! The refugees come from various provinces of Kampuchea: Kompong Cham, Prey Veng, Svay Rieng, Mondulkiri, Kampot, and even from the capital, Phnom Penh. They are peasants from "*sahaco*" (cooperatives), Buddhist monks, students, teachers and former civil servants, and their stories are full of horrors, blood, and tears. While they talk to me, the features on some of their faces harden and they sob out of indignation and hatred.

As I finish my second notebooks with details of the barbarity, I hear that Radio Peking has just praised the Kampuchean rulers in a recent broadcast thus: "They are leading their country to a bright and splendid future." This is simply not true. The truth is the tragedy of millions of people suffering death, being exterminated.

GARLANDS OF FLOWERS ON COLD BAYONETS

NP is 23, has bright eyes, a straight nose and curly hair. He was a student at the Phnom Penh Teacher-Training College, speaks English and French,

and as a student took part in anti-Lon Nol demonstrations. Three years have elapsed since April 17, 1975, when the population of Phnom Penh first met the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique. And he still cannot make out why they were so hostile to the one and a half million inhabitants of the capital. He says that since the beginning of April 1975, he and scores of friends had been waiting for the revolution to enter the city. These patriotic young people had learned four or five revolutionary songs, made three red banners welcoming the revolution, and they organized children to make many beautiful garlands of champak flowers and put on clothes of flowered material. They were happy in their expectant longing for the historic moment of joyful re-union in the triumph of the revolution and in the peaceful atmosphere of the country.

And the moment did come. At 9.30 on the morning of April 17, 1975 NP met the Khmer Rouge soldiers in Manivong Street. A cheering crowd of young people lined the street clapping their hands. But the Khmer Rouge soldiers glared at them over their gun-barrels and called them traitors. Children who ran up to the soldiers to put garlands round their necks were stopped by the cold steel of bayonets on their chests and retreated sobbing.

There was a commotion, and military jeeps with loud-speakers mounted on them started driving round the city publicizing the order: "Leave your homes at once! There will be bombing and shelling. Leave at once and for good!" Grenades were thrown into yards and shots were fired at windows to hurry anyone who was slow in moving out. Wives were separated from husbands, children from parents; old people, the sick from the hospitals, toddlers, all were out in the streets, moving with the tide, bedraggled, in tears...

NP pursed his lips and shook his head: "My little sister got lost that morning and we never

found her. She was eight and a half years old. The night before she had gone to pay a visit to my aunt, my mother's sister. She had made two garlands and had learned revolutionary songs. She sings very nicely." He went on to tell us about the three-week long journey made by the 60,000 people of his area who were forced to leave Phnom Penh for Takeo, then Prey Veng... "A horrible trip!" He himself witnessed the death of about 600 people. The dying fell by the side of the road. Others sat with their backs against trees, exhausted. Many of those who were not used to walking got such swollen feet that they fell down. Many were faint with fear anyway. They were shot or beaten to death, and their bodies were kicked into ditches by Pol Pot's troops, who called them "treacherous dogs" or "traitors loyal to Lon Nol". NP dared not argue, dared not tell them he and his friends had taken part in anti-government demonstrations and patriotic movements in Phnom Penh, because argument of any kind would have meant being beaten to death with rifle butts as others had been. It was better to keep silent. He said: "I have the greatest esteem for those who went to the jungle to fight the US imperialists and the Lon Nol clique. When the US advisers and the US embassy staff had to withdraw we were so happy. I thought that my country had now regained full independence and that peace was at hand; I would become a teacher, would take part in social activities and in national reconstruction... I can't make out why they consider all the people in Phnom Penh enemies. Why did they drive everyone out of the capital? Why did they kill all their civilian fellow-countrymen so mercilessly? Can it be in the interest of the country that millions of people are tortured?"

These questions have been pounding away inside his head during the last three years, they continue to turn in his and other Kampuchians' bleeding hearts like sharp arrows.

A HORDE OF CROCODILES AND OCTOPUSES

KN is a 56-year-old Buddhist monk, whose native village is near Kompot town. He is very thin and has cropped white hair. He speaks slowly as if weighing every word: "As you have never been to our country, you cannot realize how much Buddhism is popularly respected there. The people subscribe to the pagodas and consider them holy places. There are many very beautiful pagodas in my country and many monks too. Young people start their schooling in pagodas. They learn to distinguish right from wrong. During the last three years they have wiped out Buddhism, completely wiped it out, and they have killed all the *krou sangkrie* (head bonzes): they shot them in the head after beating them many times to unconsciousness. They forced the monks to take off their saffron robes and to do the hardest and most humiliating labour. They have smashed Buddhist statues, burned prayer books, used pagodas to store chemical fertilizers in. In our pagoda, Khmer soldiers took down six big statues of Buddha made of precious stone and scented wood, beheaded the statues and hung the heads on the branch of a tree in front of the pagoda, as targets for a shooting-match! Worse than monsters!

"All of us monks have been classified in the third, the last category of people: their enemies! The first category consists of people living in the revolutionary base areas. The second category consists of people living in the newly-liberated cities and villages. The third category consists of families of Lon Nol troops, dependents of puppet government officials, all Buddhist monks and nuns or Catholic priests. Secondary school pupils, college students, and intellectuals fall into the third category too.

"They call us 'parasites' and 'deceivers' and say that 'religion is worse than exploitation'. They say that we must do hard labour, and work three times,

four times as much as the first and second category people 'to atone for our crimes'..."

He paused for a moment, then asked: "May I ask you something? Is the world aware of what is happening in our country now? Do Buddhist organizations and the people in Buddhist countries know anything about the tragic fate of Buddhism in Kampuchea?"

He sighed and went on, his voice even and slow: "We tell a story about a country overrun by a horde of crocodiles and octopuses which killed all living souls; Buddha used magic to kill all of them and transform them into stinking maggots.

"Now Kampuchea has been invaded by a horde of crocodiles and octopuses from Tonle Sap which are causing suffering everywhere. I hope these evils will be wiped out. And that the people perpetrating them, who are more cruel than crocodiles and octopuses, will be turned into stinking maggots..."

FOUR REGIMES IN THE EYES OF A TEACHER

XR is a senior secondary school teacher of Kampuchean grammar and English. He is 43, speaks English and French fluently, and is a native of Chantria district, Svay Rieng province.

When Svay Rieng was liberated on the afternoon of April 16, 1975, he was taken 30 km to the north, and from there he was escorted to Bavat to do hard labour in a production brigade "for the crime of being a teacher, a lettered man"!

He said that for the last three years, the people in Bavat commune, like the people of Kampuchea, have not seen any newspapers, any books. In May and June, 1975, all old books and newspapers, including books on technology and textbooks, considered by the authorities as reactionary, were burned. In

the whole commune there are only six or seven radio sets, for use by the commune's authorities. "We don't know what has been happening in the world during the last three years. Before, I liked to read newspapers. But now I don't have the faintest idea what the situation is !" said XR.

"They do teach the peasants, don't they ?" I asked.

"Yes, but only within the framework of the anti-illiteracy campaign. The courses last two months or so. But as there are no books, no newspapers to read, they do not stay literate. They open literacy classes just to be able to make their reports to higher quarters look good."

"Are there schools ?"

"No. Children of six and above must work in the fields, weeding, collecting dung, or tending buffaloes."

XR has ideas of his own about the many political regimes Kampuchea has had during the last few decades.

The French colonial regime was followed by the period when Prince Sihanouk was Head of State. Then the Lon Nol regime. And finally the regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary and their wives. Four different regimes. The French colonial regime was characterized by prisons, taxes and alcoholism. The next regime was pleasant to live under... The Lon Nol regime brought pressganging, bombing, shelling and rampant corruption. The present Pol Pot regime is characterized by massacres and genocide, committed by the Khmers themselves to eliminate the nation ! The present regime is a hell on earth, in XR's opinion, and nowhere in the world and at no time has there been such a horrible society as this one !

To support his argument, he told me about some of those who have been eliminated in Kampuchea.

"There are no courts, no trials, and there have been massacres in the real sense of the word.

Hundreds, thousands of Lon Nol troops who were captured or surrendered were taken to forests, to thinly populated hilly areas, to be shot, with machine-guns, or blown to pieces with hand grenades or mines. Families of officers with the rank of major and above were all killed. This they say is 'radical revolution', 'social purification' 'class policy' and 'elimination of all bad consequences'... I got to know all this from Khmer soldiers, who told us about the massacres they had taken part in as a threat. They omitted no details of these very special feats of arms.

"And what did I see with my own eyes? During our removal from Svay Rieng, Khmer troops shot dead more than 30 persons—Lon Nol soldiers, Lon Nol policemen, Buddhist monks, and puppet government officials. They would kill one or two as a way of maintaining discipline, to terrorize us and give themselves a feeling of security among people whom they consider as their enemy. That at any rate is my opinion. The bodies of the dead were pushed to the sides of the road or into rice-fields.

"In April 1977, a pregnant woman I knew named Hin Yat was so hungry (she had only two bowls of rice gruel a meal !) that she stole a handful of rice from a store-house she was passing. She was caught red-handed by a security man who struck her on the face until blood oozed out of her mouth. As a punishment, he forced her to dig a 6m long ditch in the midday sun. She had only dug a 2m long portion of the ditch when she collapsed in it and died. I remember the security man looking around. Nobody dared to cry, because anyone crying would be beaten, sometimes to death. He pushed her into the ditch and ordered the other women to bury her."

The teacher's bitter comment was: "I often think that if one is to choose a symbol for this regime, the best one is a hoe striking a man's skull."

A NATION IN WHICH EVEN TEARS ARE RUNNING OUT !

38-year-old DP is a native of Chom Chek commune, Toek Chrauv district, Kompong Cham province, and is a fervent Buddhist.

He nodded his agreement with the teacher's suggestion and added :

"In my commune, Khmer soldiers killed people by bashing their heads with hoes, sticks, hammers, and the wooden mallets used to level ground. Then they took the clothes off the corpses and shared them among themselves ! In January 1978, they executed people they considered pro-Vietnamese, accusing them of attempting to flee to Vietnam. They forced them to dig ditches 2m deep, 2m wide and 5-6m long, then they killed them and threw all 42 bodies into the common graves. Some of them were buried alive"

DP gave us a detailed account of life in his commune. Since March 1976 there have been no more family kitchens for people to prepare their meals in. Everybody has to eat in the collective kitchens. Eight persons in a group. The usual food is *prahok*, a very salt brine of fish. Each person has no more than two bowls of rice for each meal. During pre-harvest periods, there is only one bowl and a half of rice or two bowls of rice gruel. People feel very weak and think constantly of just filling their stomachs, but never dreaming of eating meat or fish as in the past.

People who want to travel to another commune must have a permit bearing 6 signatures : the head of their production brigade, of their commune, their people's committee, the local public security, and the commune's militia... This means that almost nobody can leave his commune. DP said sadly, "The commune is like a prison camp in its isolation. Our communes are just thousands of cells in a giant prison !"

In a commune people belonging to the first category may not talk with those of the second category. Third-category people are segregated from the rest. Everyone must go to bed very early in the evening. People are too hungry, too exhausted, to go for walks, and it is forbidden to build a fire. The Kampuchean countryside used to be so gay at night, but it is now a cemetery... As there is no post-office, no letters can be exchanged between friends and relatives. There is no public transport. There are only convoys of lorries carrying rice and rubber for the higher quarters, and driven by armed soldiers. Relatives living in other communes, districts and provinces cannot communicate with one another. This society has no internal communication, and is completely secluded from the outside world.

In my commune the new authorities rule the roost. They are the *phum* (village) heads, *khum* (commune) heads, the *pathien* (chairman), the *santisok* (security chief), the commander of the militia and the chairman of the control committee... They live in the best houses, taken from the peasants. They have their own kitchens and live with their families. As they have no salaries, they depend on supplies from the local population and from their superiors.

They exert a tight control on the population, by means of rifles, sticks, and hoes. They are very suspicious and find fault with everybody. If you complain about being hungry you are beaten to death. Anyone who complains about his miserable life is accused of anti-government activities! The members of the control committee keep a close watch on the people from their watch towers. They immediately rush to any place where smoke is spotted: anyone caught cooking sweet potatoes or cassava roots is beaten black and blue.

Mrs XH is from the same village as DP, and she told me similar stories. Her husband was beaten to

death by the security agents because he had taken a bunch of bananas to give to the children. The children's plight is deplorable. They have nothing else to eat but their daily ration of rice or gruel. No sweets, no cakes. They are thin and pale.

The control committee inventories all the fruits in every orchard and the owners of the orchards are held responsible for the fruit. Coconuts, bananas, sugar-palms are no longer private property. They belong to the collective, or as Mrs XH says, to the rulers.

As she related the story, Mrs XH wept quietly. Then suddenly the tears gushed when she mentioned her two daughters, who are in Kampuchea. As far as she knows, they are now in the youth brigade and are busy building roads and digging canals for water conservancy works, but they may also be dead, what with the hard labour, flogging and undernourishment.

Her distress was so heart-rending that I stopped asking her questions. She calmed down and added : "During the last two years we have been living such a wretched life, with such terrible ordeals, but we dared not weep. Because if they saw us weeping they would kill us. And we do not cry in Kampuchea, because there are already too many dead. Every day, every night there is someone killed. One is so accustomed to scenes of death that one no longer feels pity, no longer suffers ! One has one's own life to look after. To exist, that is enough !"

Mr DP added : "It's hard for you to understand us since you have not gone through what we have experienced. At the beginning one cried, but gradually tears are running dry. One dares not cry for fear of being killed : one's only thought is of survival when one seems to hover between life and death. Every morning I wake up and think : 'Oh dear, I'm still alive ! Shall I live until the end of this day ? I hope

I can live another day'. This kind of thought dogs us every day. We now have neither tears to shed for others' fates, nor tears to shed for our own!"

20TH-CENTURY SERFS

HX has completely recovered after four months living in Vietnam as a refugee. She has a straight nose, pink lips and a smooth complexion, and her smile reveals white, even teeth. Looking at the well-built, pretty girl I hardly recognize the pallid waif I met four months ago. She had taken a bad knock, and at 22 years, she had looked 35. Many wrinkles on her brow, two bony arms and mangy elbows!

She is a native of Kompong Chnang. She describes the rivers, the fields of sugar-cane, the moonlit nights she used to spend with her friends dancing and singing. Only three years have elapsed since then, but all that belongs to a remote past.

She gives us a detailed account of the life she led in her native village from April 17, 1975 to the beginning of this year.

All the women had to dye their clothes black. Beautiful clothes, flower-patterned clothes had to be hidden away, and they had to have their hair bobbed.

With tears in her eyes she tells us about the collective weddings in her commune. She has witnessed seven collective weddings. Marriages are decided by the officials in the commune. Every three months they organize a collective wedding party at which about 6 and at times as many as 20 couples are wed.

"How are the bride and the bridegroom dressed? How are the ceremonies held?" I ask.

"Everyone, men and women, is dressed in black, just as if they were on their way to manual labour. No merry-making, no songs. The names of the coup-

les are read out from a list and the brides and bridegrooms stand side by side. An official explains that the marriages of all young people in the commune are the responsibility of the 'Angkar' (organization) and that the day's marriages have been decided after due consideration. He speaks at length about our duty to do labour, and so on. And they disperse. That's all. I was forced to marry a man in June 1977. I did not know my 'husband' before. I did not love him, but they forced me to marry him. Every three weeks he was allowed to spend a night with me in an empty room, then he went back to his place. We did not dine together once. We had nothing in common, nothing to confide to each other. I was so sad, so distressed. It was not his fault, after all, for the marriage was against his will, too. And he suffered, too. I finally got so fed up with the life that I decided to flee to Vietnam.

According to HX, people work without respite in Kampuchea. There is no Sunday. All days are exactly alike! There are no wages, no monthly allowances. So people have lost the notion of time passing. One has to watch the moon to keep track of time.

"There were 24 women in my work brigade. And every brigade has a boss. Ours carried a rifle and a stick made of teak. Anyone who slackened during work because of tiredness got hit on the legs or on the back. Our brigade dug irrigation canals, built roads and transplanted rice...

"After the harvest at the beginning of 1977, I was detailed to work in one of the production brigade's rice-husking groups. I spent more than twenty days there. It was a large hall roofed with corrugated iron, a low structure with many storehouses at the back. There were eight husking mills, in two rows. The overseer was a security agent, and he carried a pistol. And he always had a bundle of thorny rattan whips handy. The mere sight of them frightened us.

We had to work even at night. He sounded the gong which hung near his chair for the eight of us to start work at the same time. When there was no more paddy in the mills, he struck the gong for us all to stop at once. It was forbidden to stop work before the gong sounded, even though there was no more paddy in the mill.

THE SYMBOL "800"

We had a long talk with IC and LH, former commanders in Division 280 and Division 3 of the Kampuchean army, who crossed over to the side of the Vietnamese armed forces quite recently.

They told us about the bloody purges in their divisions. Anyone who wavered or was unwilling to go to fight in Vietnam was labelled a traitor, an agent of Hanoi. When a battalion or regiment commander is summoned to division headquarters to "receive education," that means that he will be escorted to the forest and killed, suspected of high treason. "Kill, kill all the traitors!" That is the watchword of the General Staff, acting on orders from the leaders of the so-called Communist Party and Government of Democratic Kampuchea.

LH gave an account of the massacres of the Vietnamese population by Kampuchean troops in Ben Cau, Lo Go, Xa Mat (Tay Ninh province) in September last year. Kampuchean soldiers were ordered to kill as many Vietnamese civilians as possible. And they were ordered to be as brutal with them as possible so as to frighten the Vietnamese people. They were taught to kill people with rifle butts, knives, how to use hoes to bash skulls and picks and forks to hit their victims in the belly and the chest. They were told time and again: "You must kill them all, children, old folk and women alike, especially pregnant women." Because, they said, a Youn

Annamite(1) foetus is an enemy too and must be killed at once !”

LH revealed that after having committed horrible crimes in Vietnam, units of the Division No. 280 were instructed to go to the different production brigades along the border in Prey Veng province to tell the Kampuchean people about the massacres of Vietnamese civilians. This propaganda campaign lasted 4 or 5 days. I asked him what they did that for and LH replied : “I think it was to convince the common people in Kampuchea that the crimes perpetrated by Kampuchean soldiers had roused the Vietnamese people living along the border in Tay Ninh province to profound hatred for the Kampuchean people in general, and would take revenge on all Kampucheans. They hoped in this way to stop Kampucheans from fleeing to Vietnam.”

LH sighed and added : “But I have seen how the Vietnamese troops welcome us Kampucheans here on Vietnamese territory ! They take Kampuchean children in their arms and give them cakes and sugar water. They do not insult us at all ; on the contrary they feel deep sympathy for our misery.”

LH lowered his voice : “I know that these dark schemes have been worked out by the Chinese advisers who are now helping the Army Corps No. 203. In my opinion the plans have been partly successful. Many Kampucheans believe that Vietnamese whose relatives have been disembowelled and beheaded will take revenge on the first Kampucheans they meet.”

These schemes reek of foul pragmatism, and aim at sowing alienation and hatred between the two peoples. What cruelty ! What cynicism !

I handed LH a case of 120-mm shells stamped with the number ‘800’. Machine-guns and mines

(1) A pejorative term meaning Vietnamese.

captured by our troops in this area also have this number stamped on them.

"What is the meaning of this number?" I asked.

"I'll tell you what the chief of staff of my regiment told me. These are weapons sent by 'our friendly country' as aid to Kampuchea. We can use them at will. Kompong Som harbour is being repaired and enlarged as a matter of urgency for many Chinese ships to use. Even Chinese troops will come to repair the railway line from Kompong Som harbour to Phnom Penh. The number '800' is stamped on the new weapons to raise morale among Kampuchean troops since '800' is the symbol of the pledge by 800 million Chinese people to stand behind us Kampucheans. I myself attended a political course at Army Corps 203 at which a commander of the Army Corps often said: "Kampuchea will grow stronger thanks to aid from the great power of 800 million people. He also said: "That great power is our great friend, and the great teacher of Kampuchea. They are excellent. They will teach us everything and help us defeat Vietnam. The great power is giving us all-round aid, but what we benefit from most is their doctrine, which is really wonderful, really great, and which we shall apply here in Kampuchea."

"When did you first see that symbol '800'?"

"In mid-April. We were instructed to use the number '800' to raise the morale of our troops. Soldiers must always bear in mind that there are 800 million people behind them so that they are not afraid of going to fight in Vietnam. Everyone must remember the numbers: 800, 50 and eight. Vietnam has 50 million inhabitants, but former Saigon troops are against them. Our population is 8 million, and together with the 800 million Chinese, we outnumber them 20 times. Why shouldn't we be able to defeat the Youn Annamite?"

AN AMBITIOUS SCHEME AND CURIOUS SOCIALISM

KT is a member of the Kampuchean Communist Party who was expelled from the Party by the Pol Pot clique in August 1977. He is a native of Kompong Ro district, Svay Rieng province, was born in 1938, and took part in the revolutionary activities from March 1970 onwards. In 1973, he joined the Party, and is now a district-level cadre.

His district is composed of 49 communes with a total population of 60,000. The reactionary elements in Phnom Penh and those of Army Corps 203 decided to expel all Party organizations in 7 border districts of Svay Rieng and Kompong Cham from the Party. All this started at the end of 1976 when they expelled hundreds of Party members who did not support their queer method of building socialism. They simply dissolved tens of Party cells. Despite these arbitrary measures, the opposition increased, particularly in June 1977 when the resolution of their central committee was disseminated, according to which "Vietnam is our enemy, our Number 1 enemy, our eternal enemy. We should be prepared to attack Vietnam." But nobody dared voice protest for fear of death.

He went on: "They expelled the whole Party committee of Kompong Ro district. All the members of the committee were escorted to the provincial capital where they were probably killed. Some weeks later they decided to expel all Party members in Kompong Ro district because, they said, the founders of the district Party organization were traitors and so the whole Party organization were their enemy. The other six border districts suffered the same fate. I think that what they aim at is to dismember the old Party and build an almost entirely new Party."

KT told me that the new Party members are mostly young people between 16 and 24 years old

who have been tricked into anti-Vietnamese feelings, and are brainwashed into committing crimes. As rewards for the crimes committed they are praised and promoted to higher positions and as a result of this policy many hooligans have been admitted into the Party and quickly promoted.

I asked him: "Why do you think they are building such a queer type of socialism? What's it for? Will the people, and they themselves, benefit from it?"

He smiled: "Well, that's what I wonder myself. Why are they so brutal, why are they massacring the people? What is the good of sowing hatred and mourning everywhere? They should at least feel some pity for the sick, the old folk and the children! And I have gradually found out what they are getting at: they want to build a society with strict military discipline, to turn the whole country into a huge barracks in which people must work, work without respite, without any entertainment at all, obeying the orders of their superiors. A society in which there is no currency, no salary or wages, no allowances, except for a barrack-like system of supplies. Those who leave the ranks die, as they have nothing to live on. The rulers intend to concentrate the people's manpower on agricultural production in order to produce as much rice, rubber and precious wood as possible. They speak at great length of carrying out great leaps forward in the production of rice and rubber. I was told by the authorities in my district that Kampuchea would have to export a big amount of rice, rubber, wood, and Tonle Sap fish to its benefactor—the country which sent Kampuchea supplies of arms and ammunition.

They attach great importance to poor peasants and lower middle-peasants, considering the peasantry as the main force of the revolution. According to them, the experience gained here in Kampuchea will be applied to the whole of Southeast Asia, to agricul-

tural countries the world over, to the third world, in conformity with the new division of the world, which I still fail to understand despite repeated explanations.

I wondered whether this really is a "creative" model of socialism, the purest, the most equitable, the most radical, the most wonderful, the most "radiant" socialism as Radio Phnom Penh has claimed time and again, or is it just a model of reactionary primitive egalitarianism? And China is extolling to the skies and encouraging those who are bent on carrying out this most ambitious model of society, by peddling it to the outside world, a society advertized with so much publicity, so much fanfare, so much rhetoric, but which is full of suffering, death and hatred.

EVEN THE MOST ORDINARY FEATURES OF LIFE HAVE CHANGED

In the afternoon we paced the courtyard of the camp with our new acquaintances among the Kampuchean refugees. These people are to be pitied so much, and they are so dear to us. They set great store by justice and good. They are sincere, they treasure friendship and loyalty, and feel the deepest concern over the destiny of their Fatherland. They told me time and again: "The Vietnamese volunteers who fought in Kampuchea were very good. They respected Buddhist monks, took care of the old folk, played with children and showed respect for women. And they remain friendly towards us Kampucheans. Vietnamese cadres and officials working in this camp feel deep affection toward us too."

We were watching a football match between two local youth teams, and NP, a Kampuchean student, sighed: "We used to have football games in Kampuchea, too. We are as fond of sports as Vietnamese

youth. But you won't find a scene like this anywhere in my country now. No one has played football for the last three years!"

There was a market place in front of the camp. As we approach it, NP sighed again: "Market places like this are so indispensable to the people's life. But in my country they are banned: no more market, no more currency, no more trade!" Then he asked me with a wry expression: "Is there any other country in the world where there is no currency, and no markets, like mine?"

The sight of children going to school also reminded NP of his sadness over the destiny of his country. "Do they really need us to be illiterate? Why have they closed the schools? Why do they regard teachers as their enemies?" He looked fierce as he asked. "Is there any other country in the world where all schools are closed, books abolished, studies no longer needed? You know, for the last three years we haven't written or read a thing!"

XR, the school teacher, took a more philosophical view. He liked to comment on the ordinary features of life. He once said to me: "Revolution is very wonderful. But why does the Kampuchean revolution differ completely from that of Vietnam? No more family meals, no more love for young people, no more freedom of movement in one's homeland, no more right to hear from one's relatives and acquaintances, and to express one's true feelings. How can they say that this is an 'equitable' and 'wonderful' society?"

With tears swimming in his eyes, he said: "It feels as though we belong to another planet, quite apart from, quite alien to mankind. I still remember the cosy dinners in my family. After the meal, my wife, my children and I would go for a walk. We would go to a bookshop. We would buy some sweets for the kids. We would send letters to our friends and wait expectantly for their answers. None of those

ordinary things exist in Kampuchea any longer. There remain only a series of emptinesses! The whole nation is in prison, and moreover, being massacred. The worst thing is that it is Kampucheans themselves, who, in the name of the Kampuchean people's happiness, are torturing and massacring their fellow-countrymen. We are being exterminated. Please tell me whether there is a way out!"

I tried to comfort him: "My dear XR, you answered your question the moment you put it. Millions of Kampucheans must now ask the same question as yours. Man's instinct for survival is undeniable and strong. Here it is not just a single man trying to survive, but a whole nation, a nation with a glorious civilization."

ONE CAN'T KILL A WHOLE PEOPLE

VU CAN

The flag of Democratic Kampuchea bears a yellow Angkor temple on a red field, which calls to mind the standard of the Issarak Front. From 1945 to 1954 this Front led the anti-French resistance, also called by the Khmers "Nine-year Resistance" as distinct from the "Five-year Resistance" waged against American imperialism. On 15 April 1976, two days before the first anniversary of national liberation, a Phnom Penh Radio broadcast declared that "the brilliant victory of 17 April 1975 crowned thirty years of revolutionary struggle by the Kampuchean people", an affirmation repeated by the whole of the official propaganda machine. At least in words, Phnom Penh claims to be heir to the noble qualities of the Khmer people — both their magnificent Angkor civilization and their tested revolutionary traditions.

However, no one can say that the Phnom Penh regime as it is seen by the world evokes Angkor, still less the heroes fallen for Kampuchean independence. For three years now a horrible genocide has taken the lives of two million people — out of a total Kampuchean population of seven million. And the nightmare is not over yet. On the survivors of this senseless slaughter now falls another calamity, which is driving them to utter despair: aggression

against Vietnam, an aggression ordered and bankrolled by Peking. No man of conscience in Kampuchea now fails to understand that his people is but a miserable pawn in the Machiavellian chessgame played by Peking in its relentless pursuit of hegemony in Southeast Asia, the whole of Asia, and the rest of the world.

What name to give the strange regime established in Democratic Kampuchea? What fate is reserved for its people? How is its future being shaped by the criminal hand of Peking? Where are the Kampuchians heading for?

Distressing questions face humanity concerning Democratic Kampuchea, but the wall of secrecy that encloses this country precludes anything but incomplete conjectures. Some authors have had to tackle the problem indirectly and conduct their investigations among Kampuchean refugees in Thailand and even in France. Others have come to Vietnam, from where they have found that it is possible to probe into the true nature of the regime in Phnom Penh as evidenced by its home and foreign policies.

From a Window on the Frontier

In Tay Ninh, where we arrived at dusk, the flashes of artillery streaked the night sky. Long-range guns, positioned in Kampuchean territory, were bombarding this border area of Vietnam. It was the rainy season and their thunder mingled with the noise of tropical downpours.

Tay Ninh is one of the eight Vietnamese provinces lying on the border with Kampuchea, which is about the same length as that separating Vietnam from China — 1,100 kilometres. At the time of the French conquest in the 19th century, a leader of the

Khmer resistance named Pokumpao established his headquarters here. During the First Indochina War Tay Ninh made up together with the three neighbouring Kampuchean provinces of Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, and Kompong Cham a solid guerilla base from which Vietnamese and Khmer revolutionary forces jointly operated. Came the anti-American resistance of the Vietnamese people: again this important strategic base was used by Vietnamese revolutionary forces with the support of local Kampuchean peasants. Following Lon Nol's coup, the Vietnamese divisions stationed here lent a hand to the Kampuchean revolution in breaking up Chenla I and Chenla II, the two large-scale military operations undertaken by US troops with the support of Saigon and Phnom Penh puppet forces. The Vietnamese forces liberated a vast territory in the eastern and north-eastern parts of Kampuchea and handed it over to the Kampuchean authorities. The newly set up Khmer Rouge army was to use it as a springboard for its offensive on Phnom Penh, the capital of the country. It was thus common knowledge that the national liberation revolutions in Vietnam and Kampuchea gave assistance and support to each other in an internationalist spirit — until the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique gained power.

The former Khmero-Vietnamese resistance base is no longer a land of friendship. From Kampuchean territory, whole Kampuchean regiments and divisions have launched attack after attack on Tay Ninh: so far 1,700 assaults of various scales, and 300 artillery poundings on the provincial capital and seven district centres (out of a total of eight). In the 18 communes located on or near the border, with a total population of 70,000, Kampuchean attacks have killed more than one thousand people and wounded several hundred; more than 1,300 houses have been burnt down and 10,000 hectares of ricefields ravaged. In July this year, Chinese-made Mig-19 aircraft violated Viet-

namese airspace in this area, which is five minutes' flight from Ho Chi Minh City.

And yet Tay Ninh, faithful to its tradition of solidarity with the Khmer people, has offered its hospitality to tens of thousands of Kampuchean citizens who had managed to escape death and sought refuge here. The first waves of refugees were mostly women, children and old folk, whose husbands, fathers and sons had been murdered or pressed into Kampuchean military or para-military forces. Recent arrivals are mostly young people who have deserted en masse from shock youth, communal militia, regional forces, and even regular units.

These eyewitnesses of the horrendous treatment inflicted upon the Kampuchean people have exposed the lies of the Phnom Penh regime. The crimes brought to light surpass in horror everything so far known to mankind. Peking stands alone in seeking to defend and extol the bloody regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary in the name of revolution and socialism.

The "Excessively Extraordinary" Socialist Revolution

Of the 75 communes that make up the province of Tay Ninh, 60 suffered cruelly at the hands of American expeditionary forces and Saigon mercenaries in the years of American imperialist aggression. But the American war, cruel and senseless as it was, is surpassed in horror by the present aggression undertaken by Phnom Penh under the camouflaged guidance of Chinese military advisers.

Particularly sadistic was the attack on the Vietnamese commune of Tan Lap on the night of 24-25 September 1977. Several regiments of black-shirted

Kampuchean troops coming out of the surrounding jungle massacred 500 Vietnamese peasants and razed five hamlets to the ground. Shelters were sprayed with submachine-gun bullets and hand grenades. Fugitives and captives were mercilessly slaughtered. The watchword of the raiders was: "Kill all, burn all, destroy all." In many families not a single member survived. In one shelter, no fewer than 23 bodies were found.

The way in which the Phnom Penh soldiers kill their victims recalls the cruelties of the Dark Ages. In Tay Ninh they broke people's skulls with pick-axes, quartered children before throwing their bodies into the fires, ripped up the bellies of pregnant women, dipped men into boiling water, cut their throats and extracted their livers, tied them to a tree and gave them the thousand-cut torture... Here is one of the practices created by their inventive minds: a captive is hung to a bough, then a deep cut is made round his anus so that his bowels would slide down by reason of their weight; it takes the victim a long time to die amidst atrocious suffering. In August 1978 only a few days before a delegation of Thai journalists visited Tan Lap another felony was committed by Kampuchean soldiers: they disembowelled a pregnant woman, extracted the foetus and beheaded it as well as another child of the victim, then put their bodies on the edge of a neighbouring wood after fitting them with grenade-traps.

I related these crimes to some Kampuchea refugees and noted with surprise their impassivity: their own sufferings and those they had witnessed seemed to have hardened them to such horrors. A young woman named Chan Sithon told me, "My father was killed in similarly atrocious circumstances. Wrongly suspected of being a former Lon Nol mercenary, he was arrested, ordered to dig his own grave, and thrown into it after having his skull broken with a pickaxe. In fact he was still breathing when he was

buried. One of my cousins, who was working at some irrigation canal nearby, witnessed the scene and told it to me later. It all happened at Koki Som, not far from where I lived. My father was only one of many people executed in this way. And yet they could call themselves lucky, for others met a still more horrible death: they had their throats slowly cut with a branch of sugar-palm tree bristling with thorns."

Chan Sithon is 22 years old and hails from Sala Tien hamlet, Chro Muto commune, Prasot district, Svay Rieng province. I have talked to hundreds of other Kampuchean refugees belonging to various social strata: peasants, plantation workers, small traders, students and intellectuals. Their testimony concerning life and death in their poor country agrees on all essential points.

It seems certain that efforts in Democratic Kampuchea are being focused on the building of an egalitarian society based on a primitive agricultural economy. The past is discarded in a spirit of peasant vengeance, and the most ferociously coercive measures are used to herd people towards the chosen future. The least order of the omniscient Angkar (meaning "Organization") must be blindly followed. The entire people of Kampuchea are harnessed to the tilling of the land, for Angkar has decided that "whoever has rice is master of the world!" If a man cannot accomplish his task in the daytime, he must spend the night completing it or suffer the penalties attached to the crimes of indiscipline or even rebellion. For this slave's labour, the citizen receives just enough food to keep him from starving while all the crops harvested are collected by Angkar to replenish the stocks needed for carrying the "revolution" further. There is no family life: the only way of life permitted is "collective life". Men and women toil in separate production brigades and eat in separate collective kitchens. Children are separated from their parents who no longer hold any authority on

them. Mutual surveillance and denunciation is the normal rule of behaviour. There is no currency, no market, no postal service. All traffic is banned on the roads and the only legal source of information is what Angkar says through its cadres. Such a society is presented as "radically revolutionary", a model of "creative socialism". To use the words of Radio Phnom Penh, this is an "excessively extraordinary" (*sic*) revolution and socialism.

Tons of paper and ink have been wasted throughout the world in descriptions of this "revolution" and this "socialism" and recent testimony has confirmed what is so far known to all. Is mankind to witness the birth in Kampuchea of a kind of neo-Nazism, a thousand times more ferocious and moronic than the Hitlerite brand ?

The Potentates : Some Undisclosed Facts

Comrade Yos Po, 44 and a native of Kampot, was a member, before his expulsion, of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. He has had an eventful life and has known many tribulations. He participated in the "Nine-year Resistance" in his native province and, following the signing of the 1954 Geneva armistice agreements, was a regroupee in North Vietnam. The Party sent him to Chungking University in China where he enrolled in the philosophy department. After Lon Nol's coup of 18 March 1970 he went back to Kampuchea and organized the resistance in Kampot. After the liberation of Phnom Penh by the Khmer Rouge army, many of his companions were summoned to a "political course". They simply disappeared soon after. Yos Po grew suspicious. When he was summoned in his turn, he fled to Vietnam. Thousands of cadres and fighters of the Nine-year Resistance, he said, had been secretly executed. Very few of those heroes survived.

"While we were fighting the French colonialists," he told me, "Pol Pot and Ieng Sary went to France to study together with Son Sen, Khieu Samphan and other bigwigs of the present regime in Phnom Penh, including Khieu Ponnary, now Pol Pot's wife, and her sister Khieu Thirith, Ieng Sary's spouse. They are a gang of usurpers, no more and no less. Our Communist Party had lacked vigilance. At present the Party and the revolution have been liquidated. Their names and prestige serve as a screen for those renegades.

As is known to many, the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary — Son Sen clique who rule the roost in the CPK and the government of Kampuchea belong to the extremist wing. When they returned from France, this trio considered Sihanouk the number one enemy of Kampuchea and advocated his overthrow. A more moderate trend grouping Khieu Samphan, Hou Youn, Hou Nim and Chau Seng, all of them also French-returned students, recommended collaboration with the prince because he opposed American imperialism. The extremist elements set up a maquis in 1963 but when Sihanouk was overthrown seven years later by the Lon Nol — Sirik Matak tandem, agents of the CIA, they made an about-face, used Sihanouk's prestige to support their call for national salvation, and appealed to Vietnam for military aid.

Yos Po continued: "As soon as the revolution triumphed, the usurpers threw Sihanouk into the dustbin and turned against Vietnam. Hou Youn, Hou Nim and their main collaborators in the days of the anti-American resistance vanished from the political scene — probably executed. Now the usurpers have openly attached themselves to Peking's chariot. Theoretically their power rests on the 'poor and lower-middle peasants' according to the Peking model. They carry out in the ranks of the Party and

the revolutionary army bloody purges reminiscent of the Chinese 'rectification campaigns' and 'great proletarian cultural revolution'. In the border war they have provoked with Vietnam, the Kampucheans are shedding their blood while the Chinese are reaping the profits. Genocide at home and a warlike policy against our neighbours are leading our people to the brink of an abyss. Radio Phnom Penh keeps repeating, '800 million Chinese stand behind us!' The figure 800 engraved on the Chinese-supplied weapons is aimed at rubbing this in. But many of my fellow-countrymen have only this bitter comment: 'This is indeed a great comfort to us. Even if the seven million Kampucheans should all die, there would still remain the eight hundred million Chinese who have given us their support.' "

The Phnom Penh-Peking collusion has deep ideological roots: egalitarianism and vengefulness of a peasant character, violent chauvinism and, especially among the bigwigs of the regime, adventurism, opportunism and feudal paternalism, or actually fascism. In the hands of these two allies, communism, which started as a dream and a rallying banner for the destitute masses, has become a screen for heinous crimes.

Yos Po added: "Besides ideological affinities, there is also a personal factor which in my view must play a role in the relationship between Phnom Penh and Peking. Both Pol Pot and Ieng Sary have Chinese blood flowing in their veins. The real name of Pot is Saloth Sar, and his mother is Chinese. As for Ieng Sary, I have had occasion to visit his native commune of Luong Hoa in Chau Thanh district, Cuu Long province (Tra Vinh in French colonial times) and inquire about his origins. His real name is Kim Trang and he belongs to the Khmer minority in Vietnam. His late landlord father was half Chinese.

His mother, who is still living and whose maiden name is Tong Chia, is Chinese. Peking could not fail to take advantage of these blood ties to bind these two men to its chariot even more closely."

Yos Po's guess is certainly not groundless. Like the Chinese emperors of former times, the Peking rulers are good readers of men's minds and past masters in the art of buying men's consciences. Let us recall that when in 1969 Lon Nol made an official stay in China as Sihanouk's prime minister, Peking went to the length of arranging for him a trip to Fukien where he would have an opportunity to kowtow before the tombs of his ancestors on the distaff side.

Dry Straw Waiting for a Spark

In early August 1978, the populations of the three hamlets of Cheak, Kandal, and Trabeng Phlong in Kranhuon Commune, Komchai Mia district, Prey Veng province, rose up in revolt when there were unmistakable signs that the army was to come and raze the area to the ground. The insurrectionists managed to seize some weapons from the soldiers and set fire to a vehicle before laying hands on a stock of rice and fleeing into the jungle. They formed themselves into two columns of about 2,000 people in all and headed for the Vietnamese border. Armed young men brought up the rear. The first column, of about 800 persons, walked through the jungle for 23 days, fighting pursuing forces all the way. They were only 610 when they arrived on Vietnamese soil. The second column, of 1,200 people, was not so lucky. They were surrounded by Phnom Penh forces.

"They must have been massacred, all of them." said old Tit Su. "The Phnom Penh soldiers give no

quarter. They are mostly boys in their early teens and bear no resemblance whatsoever with revolutionary troops of the time of the Nine-year Resistance."

Old Tit Su, 62, commanded the column of the 610 survivors. He was a member of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and participated in the Nine-year Resistance. His commune, a former anti-French base, became suspect in the eyes of the Phnom Penh rulers. The uprising, which he helped organize together with other local leaders, took place in the wake of the rebellion which shook the Eastern Military Zone on 26 May 1978.

Democratic Kampuchea is divided into six military zones, besides the special zone of Phnom Penh. The Eastern Zone, also known as Zone 203, comprises the provinces of Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, and Kompong Cham and is divided in its turn into six regions numbered from 20 to 25. On account of its exceptional strategic position, Phnom Penh appointed no less a man than So Phim, vice-president of Kampuchea, member of the Standing Bureau of the Central Committee of the CPK and deputy commander-in-chief of the army, to head the Party Bureau there. By mid-1978 eleven divisions and four special regiments of the Kampuchean army were concentrated in Zone 203, i.e. 50% of its total strength.

According to dissident military commanders and political cadres from Zone 203 who are now in Vietnam, the ferocious internal policy and adventurous external policy pursued by the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique provoked violent eddies within the Communist Party, army and people of Kampuchea. In Zone 203 a secret opposition was organized within the party and the army. Starting in November 1977, secret food reserves were set up in the jungle. However, no date was set as yet for the

uprising. On 24 May 1978 the Zone HQ were suddenly surrounded by troops loyal to Phnom Penh. Believing that their plot had been uncovered, the opposition leaders staged a flight forward by triggering off the rebellion.

On 26 May, at 5 in the morning the guns of the insurrectionists boomed on the eastern bank of the Mekong. Several units of the 280th and 290th Divisions mutinied as well as the 21st Artillery detachment. In many areas the people joined forces with them: workers at the Chup rubber plantation, the engineering factory of the Eastern Military Zone the Trapang Tahous sawing-mill; peasants in Chau Loan, Brothan Damnak, Suong, Chong Angkor, Tra-beng Takohh; members of various Party organizations and administrative personnel in Thnong Khmum district. The dissident forces, armed with 120-mm mortars and recoilless guns, victoriously resisted the repressive forces all through the day. Attacked on all sides, they decided on 28 May to split up into small groups and wage guerilla warfare. They blew up bridges, ambushed military convoys and cut up Highway 7 at several points between Tonle Bet and Suong. According to refugees' accounts several Chinese military vehicles hit mines on 31 May and a group of Chinese artillery advisers were taken prisoner.

Severe repression was clamped down on the two provinces of Prey Veng and Kompong Cham. Orders sent from Phnom Penh on 27 May called for the disarming of all Party, army and administrative services in the Highway 7 sector and the sending of ten infantry battalions as well as several armoured and artillery units, to be withdrawn from actions against Vietnam, for repressive operations against the rebels in concert with forces despatched from the Kandal Zone. A large-scale purge was carried out in two stages first in the Party and armed forces

at the zonal, provincial and district levels, then in the communes down to hamlet level. More than 500 men were arrested in the 280th Division alone. In some units such as the 290th Division and the regional division of the 20th region, all the leading cadres, from the level of the squad upward, were arrested and taken away. In several hamlets, the soldiers broke the skulls of suspects and threw their bodies into wells. In spite of all that mad repression the rebellion was far from being put down. The opposition forces went underground or took to the neighbouring forests.

The insurrection of 26 May 1978 was the greatest uprising so far in Democratic Kampuchea. It was seriously organized and was able to combine armed mutiny with popular action. But it was not the only uprising, nor was it the first. Already in February 1977, 600 men of the 170th Division defending the capital mutinied and failed. Cha Kray, deputy chief-of-staff and commander of the Phnom Penh military zone, paid for this aborted attempt with his life. Three other leaders of the mutiny were caught and burnt alive at the city stadium. One month later, in March 1977, a popular insurrection broke out in Stoung and Chi Kreng districts, northwest of Kompong Thom, near Siem Reap. Phnom Penh had to send T.28 aircraft to bomb the rebels in many places, killing a large number of people. One month was spent in reestablishing "order". In August 1977 a new putsch was attempted near Phnom Penh. The authorities used this as a pretext for a general purge in the army, the administration and the party. In April 1978 the populations of two provinces, Kratie and Kompong Thom, rose up in their turn. The whole of the Party committee for region 505 and many leading cadres of region 43 were able to flee. In Kompong Thom, an opposi-

tion armed force entrenched itself in the Tonle Sap forest.

Thus in the space of a little more than a year, from February 1977 to May 1978, there were no fewer than six uprisings with repercussions throughout the country. The dissident political and military cadres who have taken refuge in Vietnam, viewing the situation with peasants' eyes, liken Kampuchea at present to a stack of "dry straw waiting for a spark".

Collect the Little Fires into a Great Blaze

All comparison is of necessity more or less unsatisfactory. But while likening their country to a stack of dry straw waiting for a spark, the Kampuchean refugees have also pointed to the existence of little fires almost everywhere.

Those coming from Zone 203 talk at length about the activities of the "Authentic Patriotic Revolutionary Forces of Kampuchea" and even produce leaflets, one of which accuses the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of having "deliberately followed a reactionary path, turned their backs on the revolution and betrayed the legitimate national interests of the Kampuchean people"; "massacred countless honest people and murdered many patriotic revolutionaries, as well as cadres and fighters of the liberation armed forces whose only crime is to remain faithful to the fatherland and the people"; "trampled underfoot all national traditions, customs and habits, and undermined the old national culture"... The leaflet adds: "All this in order to serve Peking. It is in order to win Peking's favour that Phnom Penh has provoked a border war with Vietnam, driving us into an absurd bloody conflict with the Vietnamese, who have been

our closest comrades-in-arms and have participated in our glorious victory." The leaflet concludes: "On 26 May 1978, seething with anger, the Authentic Patriotic Revolutionary Forces of Kampuchea, composed of the majority of officers and men of the Kampuchean armed forces stationed in Military Zone 203, and workers and peasants in Kompong Cham, Prey Veng and Svay Rieng provinces launched an insurrection to start a revolutionary struggle aimed at overthrowing the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary reactionary clique."

Since mid-1978, many Kampuchean political and military cadres who had taken refuge in Vietnam have returned to Kampuchea, where they have established contact with the new revolutionary organization. Hem Saminh, 42, who had joined the Nine-year Resistance at the age of 11 and had been in charge of armaments in Zone 203 during the Five-year Resistance, told me: "What we have been expecting for years has happened at last. Personally I had smelt a rat as early as 1973 when strange things began happening within the Kampuchean party. At meetings, so-called 'new forces' were encouraged to violently criticize veterans of the Nine-year Resistance and to isolate those who had regrouped to North Vietnam under the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina. These people were accused of having come under the ideological influence of the Vietnamese revolution and of being unable to grasp the new revolutionary line charted by the Central Committee of the CPK. In 1974 I was dismissed from my post and sent to a "political course aimed at ideological transformation". In fact I was thrown into jail where I was to stay for more than a year. Meanwhile many of my comrades simply disappeared, taken away to unknown destinations. Thanks to help from the local population, I escaped and made my way to Vietnam. I have been here for more than two years. Now

it's time I left this haven and returned to Kampuchea to resume my revolutionary activities."

In a bloodbath, the betrayed revolution has risen again from its ashes and rallies its forces. A life-and-death struggle against the Phnom Penh butchers is underway throughout the country.

Saminh added: "I've learnt from reliable sources that several detachments of the insurrectional army are being formed or have even begun operating. For instance that of Region 21, composed of local peasants, refugees from the towns, and dissident soldiers, and commanded by Party veterans. This detachment includes an all-women unit made up mostly of widows aged 20 to 30, whose husbands had fallen victim to Phnom Penh repression. All cadres and fighters of this detachment are acutely conscious of the tragic situation into which the country has been plunged. They receive a good political and military training, in contrast to the 13-year-old recruits of the government forces who had enlisted only to get food to eat. The detachment is well equipped and benefits from popular support."

What are those "Authentic Patriotic Revolutionary Forces of Kampuchea" of which the refugees have talked with such hope and fervour? What are their principles of organization, their programme of action? Information is still too scanty for us to judge with any accuracy. It seems to be a kind of front grouping various social strata in the likeness of the Issarak Front in the days of the anti-French resistance. If so, it must necessarily contain a leading core.

"We're still very much in the dark on this point," said Saminh. "It is certain that such a nucleus if it exists must operate clandestinely. In our discussions we often made suppositions about the leader of the movement. All of us pin our hopes on So Phim, the dissident leader who had taken part in the Nine-year Resistance. News concerning him is vague and

even contradictory. In any event, if So Phim is not at the head of the movement as we had hoped, if he is dead, one of his peers will emerge. Revolutionary leaders come from the ranks. A new revolutionary organization with new leaders will necessarily gather together the little fires that have been kindled more or less spontaneously in our country into a gigantic blaze. Only in this way can the little, isolated fires avoid being stamped out and eventually achieve their end. Of course we don't view the situation in a simplistic way. We foresee brutal intervention by Peking as well as hard trials in a protracted revolutionary struggle. But we are not alone. The world revolution will give us all necessary support."

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The rainy season, which usually lasts about half the year, is now in its fifth month. Heavy downpours, which prevent all large-scale military action, are subsiding. November will see the start of the dry season.

These last few months, the Phnom Penh army has shown a quick growth. From 18 divisions it has expanded to 24 — nearly four times its size at the time of liberation. No less than 22 are mustered at the border with Vietnam, security in the rear being in the hands of Chinese troops disguised as road builders. In accordance with the strategy and tactics dictated by Peking the Kampuchean troops will intensify their raids into Vietnamese territory, killing and burning everyone and everything they can, this time with air and armour support. In Tay Ninh Vietnamese regionals have recently captured M. 113 armoured personnel carriers of which only the armour plates are American while the engines and weapons bear Chinese markings.

For her part, Vietnam has completed the fortification of many border villages and built defence lines around the main centres. One may surmise that she will not confine herself to a purely defensive attitude, for in all matters there are limits to human patience and the right of pursuit is recognized by international law. In face of an enemy who is as perfidious as he is obdurate, she cannot do otherwise than crush the forces of aggression and destroy their starting bases.

One may also surmise that the Kampuchean revolutionary forces will not fail, inside Kampuchea, to avail themselves of the new situation to give guidance to the people in staging more insurrections, continuing and expanding the events of 26 May on a national scale. The people are at the end of their tether; they can no longer endure the yoke imposed on them by the counter-revolutionaries. As for the Phnom Penh rulers, they are no longer able to maintain their domination over the country. A revolutionary situation will take shape as soon as the vanguard has shown its determination to begin revolutionary action.

Following the official visits to Peking by Pol Pot, Ieng Sary, Son Sen and Noun Chea, Radio Phnom Penh has undertaken a series of broadcasts shamelessly slandering the Soviet Union and accusing her of having "sent military advisers to Vietnam to help in the aggression against Kampuchea". One may be tempted to think that the Phnom Penh rulers have simply overestimated their immunity from ridicule. But this is not the point. One may wonder if the Phnom Penh regime, finding itself at bay and prompted by orders from Peking, is not preparing public opinion to an open and massive introduction of Chinese armed forces into Kampuchea.

Chinese intervention may be merciless but the knell has tolled for the Phnom Penh reactionaries. The people will always have the last word.

CAPTURED KAMPUCHEAN SOLDIERS CONFESS

KINH KHA

"I realize today that the Vietnamese have never been the enemy of the Kampuchean people, but now it is too late," confessed Siam Savinh, a native of Prey Veng, soldier of the 10th Platoon, 4th Section, 2nd Company of the battalion garrisoned in Piem Nhoa Knet district. "My platoon, together with units of the regional forces of the 20th Zone and those of the regular forces of the military region, marched on Xa Mat on the night of 24-25 September, 1977. There, we sacked villages, burned down houses, raped women and massacred the population without mercy."

Siam Savinh belonged to the sizable forces dispatched by Phnom Penh to attack Tay Ninh province. They comprised units of the 3rd and 4th Divisions supported by units from zones 20, 21 and 23 of military zone 203 (East Kampuchea). The Kampuchean troops penetrated as deep as 7 km into the territory of Vietnam and perpetrated crimes of unprecedented barbarity against the civilian population, similar to those committed five months before in An Giang province on the night of April 30 and during the day of May 1st, 1977, which angered large sections of world public opinion.

"I myself," Siam Savinh went on, "opened fire on the Vietnamese border guards stationed in post

No. 27 of the 8th hamlet. When the adversary returned fire I lost my self-control, was wounded and was then captured with my AK rifle and four hand grenades."

Son Sophat, soldier of the 182nd Regiment, 3rd Division of the Kampuchean regular forces, fell into the hands of Vietnamese border guards only hours after Siem Savinh was captured and he revealed to us the elaborately worked out schemes of his superiors :

"Sol, the commander of the company stationed in Chantria district ordered us to destroy everything in order to expand the territory of Kampuchea... We must burn down all houses, and massacre people including old folk, women and children, get hold of their cattle and rice, and bring them to Kampuchea."

Phnom Penh's long-term schemes are no longer a secret. Witness the confessions of Meng Nheap, a native of Takeo and soldier of the 2nd Platoon, 1st Company, 27th Battalion, 2nd Regiment of the south-western military Zone, captured in May 1977, in An Giang province :

"Since March 1977, Tamoc, a member of the HQ of the zone, accompanied by two stout Chinese with pale complexions, came to give ideological preparation to the troops who were to attack Vietnam and to advance as far as the first sugar-palm tree, Saigon... We had started by attacking along the border, down the Vinh Te and Bac Dai canals. We would stay on that bridge-head for some time for a breathing-space, and then go farther into Vietnamese territory."

Similar confessions were made by Meng Nheap's companions, captured by our forces at the same time as him.

In order to carry out their wild ambitions, the Kampuchean authorities try every means to inculcate hatred for the Vietnamese into their men.

"The Party has taught us, myself and other soldiers, that Vietnam is our aggressor, our deadly enemy number one, whom we have to fight without hesitation."

With these words, Inh Chanthon, aged 27, native of Svay Rieng, deputy commander of the 501st Regiment, 3rd Division of the Kampuchean armed forces, began his confession. Inh Chanthon was admitted into the Party on December 31, 1973, and captured exactly four years later, south of Highway No. 1, in the southwest of Tay Ninh province. He was seriously wounded, and was looked after by Vietnamese doctors in the provincial hospital. He had ample time to test the truth of Angkar's teaching about the "deadly enemy" who had just snatched him from the jaws of death.

"The Vietnamese have freed me from the claws of the Red Khmers," affirmed Inh Chanthon, as a conclusion to his confession dated January 8, 1978.

"Xoom lap teu o!" (Kill them all!) such was the warcry of Inh Chanthon and his companions. "Our superiors told us that the Vietnamese were our traditional enemy, the number-one enemy of the Kampucheans", confessed one soldier, whom we had caught red-handed. "We must kill them, or they would kill us. So we were forced to 'xoom lap teu o' the Vietnamese." The captured assassins were afraid of being murdered, as many of their fellow-countrymen had been at the hands of the Angkar itself at Svay Rieng, Prey Veng, Kompong Cham, Takeo or along the Battambang railway, on the banks of the Mekong river... But it was bread or rice that they received from the hands of the Vietnamese.

The substance of these confessions can be found in the Eastern Zone resolution of July 17, 1977:

"...Our attacks should not be directed at a specific place or region, but should be directed at all places

simultaneously... We must stop them [the Vietnamese], wipe them out even on their own territory... Therefore we must be on the alert while preparing our ground forces, our supporting artillery and our anti-aircraft forces along the frontier... We must also carry out reconnaissance in order to be constantly informed of the situation and prepare our attacks well. This second directive must be kept secret. Apart from the Command, neither the soldiers nor the population must be informed of it..."

The authors of the resolution also boasted about the bloody exploits of their troops :

"On April 30 we levied taxes in their country (read : raided Vietnam — *Ed.*), inflicting great losses on them. 4,000 civilians were wounded, 90 per cent of the houses in the area burned down." This baleful balance-sheet was written down in the notebook of Chhim Phin, platoon commander in the 2nd Division of the Kampuchean armed forces who attended a meeting held at Angkor Boray on December 31, 1977. That day, also according to Chhim Phin, as a reward for their atrocious crimes, Kampuchean troops of the southwestern military zone were given enough to eat to their heart's content for the first time since the start of the border war against Vietnam.

An emulation drive was launched with the catch-word "one for thirty". The catch-word was actually an order, admitted another captured soldier. And he added :

"That's not all, the Party required more from us : one for 40 or even 50. This is the reason why we must kill even the old folk, women and children. Otherwise, how can we reach the targets ?"

That thirst for blood forces Phnom Penh to continually increase the effectives of its armed forces. Pressganging has been carried out in the remotest parts of the country. The sick and adolescents are not spared.

"If you are called, you must report without delay," said a very young soldier captured by us. If you shilly-shally, they will kill you out of hand. We have received uniforms, a rifle and ammunition, all made in China. And immediately after that our chiefs gave us a choice: to kill the Vietnamese or face death. The more Vietnamese you kill, the better you are fed, and commended into the bargain. If you refuse to kill, you will be executed. Not only you but your relatives as well. Of course, we would rather kill than be punished."

Suon Suoi, 13, a soldier of the 2nd Company, and Un Sarœun, 16, native of Prey Veng, a soldier of the 3rd Company, 82nd Battation, 2nd Regiment, were wounded and captured on June 5, 1978. Un Sarœun wrote in his confession:

"There are around thirty children in my company, about 12 or 13 years old. They have difficulty carrying their AK rifles and the four chargers, and there is not enough rice, which is very often taken with salt only as there is scarcely any food. On June 5, we ran into fierce resistance. We were so frightened that we wanted to run away. But Chien, our chief, stopped us, shouting like a mad man. He fired a shot with his B.40. The sight of the long flame drove me out of my wits and I jumped out of the trench. That was when I was hit on the leg."

Ma Doong, 21, was caught on July 6, 1978. His legs were swollen by edema, due to malnutrition, and he walked with difficulty.

"My legs are swollen," he explained, "because we were underfed. I was ill, but I was forced to fight like the others, otherwise they would have killed me..."

Phnom Penh excels in turning the regional forces' "child-soldiers" into bloodthirsty butchers like their elders in the regular forces. A large number of them were duly punished at Ba Chuc, others like Un Sarœun or Suon Suoi were captured. All of them

confessed to taking part in the surprise attack on Ba Chuc, killed women and children. They cut women's breasts off and disembowelled them. They herded people into pagodas and threw handgrenades into them, fired at them with their AK and their B.40, considering all this a game..."

The longer Phnom Penh continues dead set against our country, the longer the list of Kampuchean killed and Kampuchean soldiers captured will grow. The Kampuchean have left large amounts of weapons made in China on the battlefield ranging from AK rifles to recoilless 75 and 82mm improved guns, 12.7mm heavy machine-guns, 60mm and 82mm mortars and in particular a great number of B.40 and B.41 bazookas. Who taught them to handle these weapons ?

"Chinese advisers," affirmed many captured soldiers, "have trained us in handling the new weapons supplied by China. Occasionally those advisers fired on Vietnam."

While most of the Kampuchean soldiers obey their superiors' orders out of fear, others refuse or show reluctance to do so. The latter are mercilessly exterminated. Let one of them speak for himself, who managed miraculously to get away from his chiefs who were going to execute him. He still had his hands tied behind his back when he reached Vietnam.

"I am Nem Sot," said he in an unsteady voice. "I am twenty-five years old and native of Svay Rieng. I am section commander in the 45th Company, 12th Battalion, 157th Regiment. Sol, the commander of my company ordered me to take off the Chinese uniform I had received a week before. I knew that I was going to be killed... There were thirty officers and men with me. Like me, they had taken off their uniforms and had their hands tied behind their backs. We were forced to get into a brand new Chinese truck which immediately made for the border.

Suddenly the truck stopped and an officer shouted at us: "Get off, everyone!" That was what they call "purification", a policy advocated by the Angkar. Three times I have witnessed similar massacres... Out of the thirty members of my section, ten were killed that way. In the 290th Division, purification has been going on for many months. Hundreds of officers and men in the division have been eliminated... I am not the only one to hate Pol Pot and Ieng Sary. The whole Kampuchean people hate those henchmen of Peking. China is supplying them with weapons and other war materiel to attack Vietnam... All those who oppose or simply do not show enough enthusiasm, as well as those who dare speak ill of China are immediately sentenced to death..."

"Chinese weapons plus bloodthirsty Kampuchean agents" is the only too obvious formula.

At the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students in Havana in July 1978, a new word was coined to denote this baleful collusion — *Kampu-China*.

FROM KAMPUCHEA TO THE HOA
OR
THE SHADY ROLE OF THE CHINESE EMBASSY
IN HANOI

(Peking Agents' Confessions)

Editor's Note: *The following story appeared in the Hanoi daily Nhan Dan from July 14 to July 22, 1978. It gave some concrete evidence on the role played by Peking, acting through the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi, in the "victimized Chinese residents" campaign in its account of the activities of some Peking agents — Ly Nghiep Phu, Tran Hoat and others whom we have already met in "They Tricked Hoa into Leaving Vietnam" appearing in Vietnam Courier No. 74, July 1978.*

When Nhan Dan published Mot bon thi hanh chinh sach cuong ep nguoi Hoa di cu (A Gang of Executors Who Coerced Hoa People into Leaving Vietnam) the Chinese side raised a protest, dismissing it as sheer slander. It should be recalled that after launching the "victimized Chinese residents" campaign, the Chinese side claimed that it was Vietnam which had ordered its own agents, including security men, to spread false news in order to intimidate Hoa people and to expel them to China. Nhan Dan carried the following story which reveals part of the truth about Peking's shady role in this affair. China's protest, obviously a clumsy attempt at face-saving, was rejected by the Vietnamese side.

Title and subheads are ours.

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Ly Nghiep Phu was born in Hanoi on December 13, 1939. His family is of Kwangtung origin. He grew up in Vietnam, went to Vietnamese primary and secondary schools, and to the Teacher-Training

School for Chinese residents in Hanoi. In 1960, he became headmaster of a primary school in Hai Duong town, and from 1963 to 1966 he taught at the Tan Hoa primary school in Lan Ong Street, Hoan Kiem District, Hanoi. Ly Nghiep Phu has made the following statement:

1975 : SETTING UP THE NETWORK

"When the Great Cultural Revolution was launched in China, the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi made arrangements for me to take my family to China. I was put up at "Canton Hotel" and enjoyed all the advantages and privileges given to persons with special missions abroad. The Central Overseas Chinese Commission received me and gave me instructions for operations in Kampuchea. On orders from Peking I and my family followed the Phnom Penh refugees into Vietnam following the change of power on April 17, 1975.

"I arrived in Vietnam on August 13, 1975, spent two days in Hong Ngu township, then moved into Ho Chi Minh City, where I was lodged at 186-B Luong Nhu Hoc Street.

"After I was settled, the Chinese Embassy sent Tran Truong Giang from Hanoi to contact me, about March or April 1976. Tran Truong Giang brought me instructions from the Chinese Embassy about quickly organizing a network of activists among the Hoa in the Saigon-Cholon area, publicizing China's policy towards overseas Chinese, and encouraging Hoa people to contribute manpower and material wealth to the construction of China. Tran told me: 'This is a great opportunity to make a name for yourself.' He added: 'If you do what's wanted of you, the motherland will never forget you, Ly.' In May 1976, Tran Truong Giang, Vuong Quang Thien

and I met to study major instructions from the Chinese Embassy about getting the Hoa to contribute manpower and wealth to the construction of China. We subsequently held many detailed discussions to finalize our plans.

"In June 1976, Vuong Nhu, who was living in Hanoi's Yen Lang residential area, came to Ho Chi Minh City under the pretext of taking leave to visit his family in the South, bringing with him new instructions from the Chinese Embassy and detailed job assignments for our group. Vuong Nhu said that other members of the group operating in the North would help us carry out propaganda in the South. The northern group comprised Tran Hoat (1), Trieu Diem Hoa (Tran Hoat's wife), On Thinh Nam, and Ly Dao Le, (On Thinh Nam's wife) and my own sister. This group was responsible for organizing the border crossing to get documents from inside China. The group composed of Vuong Nhu, Quan Gia Nghia, Hoang Duong Thanh and Luu Khac Hien was responsible for getting documents and newspapers from the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi and sending them to different addresses in the South. The Hanoi group included Tran Hoat and his wife, Ly Nghiep Chi (my brother, living at 101, Hang Gai Street), Hoang Duong Thanh, and Le Nhu Con. Lu Tho Ninh was at work in Haiphong, and Ly Nghiep Thanh in Hai Hung; On Thinh Nam and Vuong Quan Thien were in Quang Ninh, and many others living under cover names and addresses.

All the books, newspapers and documents, including a great quantity of Chinese maps drawn according to Chinese views and printed in Peking, sent either directly from Peking or via the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi, were transferred to Ho Chi Minh City. Tran Truong Giang and I were responsible for their distribution, the double aim being inciting what

(1) See *Vietnam Courier* No. 74.

amounts to big-nation chauvinism among the Hoa, and raising money to buy gold to send to China.

By August 1976, all preparations had been made and a liaison network established among the various groups. The first batches of documents from China and the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi began arriving in Ho Chi Minh City."

1977: SPREADING FALSE NEWS ABOUT KAMPUCHEA

Ly Nghiep Phu continued:

"Early in 1977, Tran Hoat came to Ho Chi Minh City bringing me more Chinese books, newspapers and documents, and congratulations from the Chinese Embassy. The new instructions from the Embassy stressed: apart from carrying out propaganda for China and broadening the influence of the Chinese Embassy among the Hoa community in Saigon-Cholon, it is also necessary to make them believe that war has broken out between Kampuchea and Vietnam, that China will give all-out support to Kampuchea, Vietnam and China will have major clashes, and the situation will turn very unfavourable for the Hoa in Vietnam. On the basis of this analysis, we were to urge the Hoa to demand readoption of Chinese citizenship and to return to China. The Hoa were also to be convinced that they would gain more by taking all their property to China to help build the country, rather by staying and undergoing socialist transformation in Vietnam. They were also to be told that the Embassy represented the motherland, anyone refusing the motherland's call on them to return will be considered a traitor. I knew that we were not the only group in Ho Chi Minh City operating for the Embassy. Others were given more important missions, and some worked for other agencies outside the embassy. Our group did a lot

of successful propaganda work, newspaper sales and collection of money, and gold-buying. When members of the northern group came to Ho Chi Minh City, they never failed to bring us more instructions and congratulations from the Chinese Embassy and special encouraging words from our new chief. I personally used my car to transport and sell almost three hundred kilograms of documents and newspapers, and I often combined sales with a collection, the proceeds of which were all converted to gold and sent to Peking via Hanoi.

"In March 1978, Tran Truong Giang again summoned me and Vuong Quan Thien to pass on another instruction from the Chinese Embassy. Both Tran Truong Giang and Vuong Quan Thien had been my classmates at the Teacher-Training School for Chinese residents in Hanoi. After graduation, Vuong went to teach in Quang Ninh province, while Tran taught at the Chinese Secondary School in Hanoi, was made director of this school, but later dismissed by the Vietnamese authorities on charges of conspiring with the "tsaofan" group to foment 'cultural revolution' in Hanoi soon after the Johnson administration's air-war escalation against Vietnam. Tran Hoat was a Chinese resident in Kampuchea who went first to South Vietnam, then to the North as a resistance cadre regrouped under the 1954 Geneva Agreements. His parents owned big pepper plantations in Kampuchea. He was dismissed from his job, but he and his family continued to lead an easy life nevertheless, being regularly subsidized by the Chinese Embassy. He always acted in the name of the Chinese Embassy during our meetings. He ordered: in the new situation, Saigon-Cholon must act quickly, and make use of any opportunity to incite the Hoa and cause unrest among them, not only in Ho Chi Minh City but also in Dong Nai, Lam Dong, Dac Lac, Quang Nam — Da Nang and other provinces in the South inhabited by Hoa people. Our aim is to

counter Vietnam's socialist transformation at all costs, and provoke unrest in Ho Chi Minh City, in coordination with the Kampuchean authorities' military activities.

"Many of the directives and measures in the plan brought by Tran Hoat from the North had been devised on the basis of experience gained during the agitation campaign among the Hoa there. We split into smaller groups to carry out a whispering propaganda campaign, spreading false news in many ways: through advice, enticement, slander and distortion, and even by threats when necessary. We went from house to house and talked to people in ones and twos and threes in order to influence them as much as possible. By thus using one person to incite and persuade the next, we soon succeeded in creating an atmosphere of uneasiness, fear, then panic among the Hoa population. Those who still wavered or seemed unwilling to return to China had anonymous letters tossed into their homes by our agents for intimidation purposes, or visit from them, when the head of family was told: 'The Chinese Government has many eyes and ears here and it knows who refuse to return. Anyone who refuses to return is a traitor to the motherland and will not be left in peace.' We secretly spread leaflets and pasted up slogans in places with big Hoa populations protesting against Vietnam's 'ostracizing and expelling' Hoa residents. We also printed applications to return to China copying a form supplied by the Chinese Embassy and brought to Ho Chi Minh City by Tran Hoat. After much deliberation, on March 6, 1978 I wrote to Tran Hoat and his wife at number 24 Hang Buom Street, Hanoi, and also to On Thinh Nam and Ly Dao Le in Quang Ninh, urging them to contact each other immediately and quickly organize a liaison line from Ho Chi Minh City to Hanoi and from Hanoi to the border for those who wished to return to China clandestinely. I and the On Thinh Nams

agreed to call this liaison line by the code-name 'guide line of the leading committee.' According to a custom in Cholon, those Hoa who wished to go had to contribute gold and money as travel fees. Part of this gold was used for our own expenses and the rest was sent to the Central Overseas Chinese Commission. Thus, while our people in the North organized the liaison line there, in the South we organized the departures. Our foremost targets were the big Hoa capitalists, who were very frightened of losing their fortunes in Vietnam. In order to get them to make up their minds quickly, we used a combination of all kinds of agitation methods. To increase their confidence in us, we bargained with them very concretely over our fees. Meanwhile, to give the campaign a boost I arranged for my brothers and sisters in Hanoi to leave for China in a hurry. While making their preparations, such as selling furniture and other belongings, they went from house to house to persuade other Hoa to join them; our intention was to create an atmosphere of real panic among the Hoa. My family in the North already has six members preparing to go to China and they induced a number of other Hoa to go with them.

"This was also intended to make the Hoa believe that Vietnam really is pursuing a policy of ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents, the propaganda theme of the Central Overseas Chinese Commission stated in clear terms in the instructions from the Chinese Embassy."

1978 : THE "NANCHIAO" CAMPAIGN

Again Ly Nghiep Phu : "At about the end of March 1978, when Ho Chi Minh City embarked on a large-scale socialist transformation drive, we received orders to act without delay. We convened a meeting

of Chinese residents who had operated with me in Kampuchea and had been ordered by Peking to Saigon-Cholon in 1975. The meeting was held at 534/48 Nguyen Trai Street, in the 5th District, at the same time as another meeting of a number of big Hoa capitalists discontent with the regime was being held at 338, Block C, Minh Mang housing area.

"At the first meeting, I gave an account of our experiences in launching the 'great cultural revolution' in Hanoi, Haiphong, and Quang Ninh... during the Vietnamese anti-US resistance, and directed by the Chinese Embassy, all of which had been passed on to me by Tran Truong Giang, Tran Hoat, Vuong Quan Thien, Luu Khac Hien, Hoang Duong Thanh and Vuong Nhu.

"I told them that where great proletarian cultural revolution had failed in Vietnam in the past, it might now be done, and with even greater success. I remember that when the Chinese Embassy arranged my trip to China in September 1966 and put me up at the hotel for overseas Chinese in Canton, the representative of the Central Overseas Chinese Commission told me each time I met him: 'The greatness of the great proletarian cultural revolution lies in the fact that it can be carried out not only in China but also in other parts of the world, especially in Southeast Asia. As the biggest and mightiest country in Asia, China must play a dominant role in Southeast Asia. To this end, it is necessary to promote the great proletarian cultural revolution, publicize Mao Tse-tung thought widely and deeply, using the Chinese residents as the core, catalyst and vanguard force of the movement, buy up the indigenous people, and incite the easily-led masses so that the cultural revolution spreads like a prairie fire through the Southeast Asian countries, forcing the governments of these countries to toe China's line.' Peking sent me to Phnom Penh, and my mission was, among other things, to kindle the cultural revolution there. The

ideology of the cultural revolution was unable to have any impact in the face of the strong anti-US sentiment of the Indochinese peoples. But it is different now, because China has Kampuchea firmly in its grip. Methods have also changed, are now more supple, less direct, more discreet, and consequently more efficient.

"During our two meetings with the Hoa capitalist discontents I dwelt on the content of the instructions of the Chinese Embassy communicated by Tran Hoat. I told them that if China is to play the leading role in Southeast Asia, it must get rid of all influence of the Soviet Union in this region. Since China cannot do this heavy task alone, it must cooperate with the United States. Vietnam and Laos are keeping to their independent position and refusing to follow China's line. So we must use pressure of all kinds to force Vietnam and Laos to toe the line. With regard to Vietnam we must first use the Hoa issue as a catalyst in carrying out our overall national policy. China will give all-out assistance to Kampuchea to provoke a border war, not only to stab Vietnam in the back, but also to cause bewilderment and unrest among the Hoa, using the danger of war to encourage them to take their wealth to China, thereby stalling Vietnam's reconstruction efforts after several decades of war devastation. After having persuaded large numbers of Hoa people to return to China, we would raise a hue and cry over Vietnam's 'ostracizing, persecuting and expelling Chinese residents' in order to create new pressure. If we succeed in forcing Vietnam to completely submit under China's baton, the other countries in Southeast Asia will then follow suit, since Vietnam is the strongest and also most stiff-necked country in this region. The United States has lost face because of the Vietnam war; if China can bring Vietnam to its knee, this will both be further testimony of

our goodwill toward the United States, and show it that China is really strong.

"At this meeting, Tran Hoat briefed us about concrete measures suggested by the campaign committee, which was headed by Ambassador Chen: concentrating on spreading the fear of war, with the aim of disrupting social life. The committee authorized the spreading of rumours that Chinese troops were driving tanks and Koreans were flying planes to help Kampuchea in its war against Vietnam. At the same time, we were to rumour the threat that Vietnam would confiscate all the gold owned by individuals to buy weapons, ammunition and fuel for the war with Kampuchea. Disturbances were anticipated. And as China would help Kampuchea broaden the war, everybody was encouraged to store food to provide against all eventualities.

"China has become very strong, and this is the reason why Kampuchea with a population of only eight million has dared confront Vietnam. At this juncture, the best thing for Chinese residents to do is to return to China. This would earn them the merit of being patriotic, and spare them the danger of war and the inevitable 'ostracism, persecution and expulsion' by the Vietnamese authorities.

"When I spoke of China's policy of cooperation with the United States during our meeting with the big Hoa capitalists, everyone looked very satisfied, even though none of them were eager to return to China."

And here is another startling revelation:

"Both Tran Hoat and Tran Truong Giang told me that whatever method I might use, I was not to forget the 'young red guards' in the schools for Hoa children and concentrations of Hoa students. I was to make the most of the Hoa teachers' and intellectuals' ability to influence the students and their parents. Never forget that it was the young red guards who

completely changed the situation in China in the early days of the cultural revolution. If we can get our 'red guards' into the streets of this city, it will be a great thing."

ROLE OF THE YOUNG RED GUARDS

On the role of the young red guards as saviours of the Hoa capitalist traders, Ly Van Kien, a collaborator of Ly Nghiep Phu, made this confession :

"I was director of the Minh Duc School in the 11th District of Ho Chi Minh City. This is a big school with 105 teachers and 4,500 students, mostly of Hoa extraction. We were part of the plan co-ordinating social disturbances in order to have an additional pretext for accusing Vietnam of 'ostracizing, persecuting and expelling Chinese residents', and to motivate the Hoa to return to China on orders from the motherland. We recruited a number of Hoa working in Vietnamese offices and factories, and Hoa teachers with many grievances against the new regime, thus creating a broad network for our work among the Hoa communities. I would tell recruits: 'China has agreed with the United States to exert pressure on Vietnam, is supplying arms to Kampuchea, and is sending specialists and advisers to help train the Kampuchean army and broaden the war against Vietnam. This will inevitably lead to a major war between China and Vietnam. When war breaks out the Vietnamese will drown the Hoa in a bloodbath. If we Chinese don't return to our country, then the Chinese and Kampuchean armies will kill us all in a bloodbath when they arrive. So, the best expedient for the Hoa at present is to find their way back to the motherland. The sooner, the better. Early returnees will have all prerogatives and privileges. Latecomers will not only be refused exit

visas to West Germany, Canada, Britain, France, etc., but will also be sent to work on remost farms. Insist on the charge of 'ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents' as your reason for demanding repatriation. If asked to go to the new economic zones, refuse categorically. If they persist, you should make a scene and complain that Vietnam is 'ostracizing and expelling Chinese residents'.

"Teachers in Chinese schools, and college or secondary school students who are over 18 and have to carry identity cards, must refuse to fill the forms. This will save them from the obligation to obey Vietnamese laws and will also prove their love for and loyalty to the motherland, as already instructed in clear terms by the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi. Attention must be paid to Hoa families whose sons are serving in the Vietnamese army or have fallen in the recent resistance against US aggression. The Embassy made it clear that any action, big or small, which hampered Vietnam's reconstruction efforts and created social disturbances at this time would be regarded as a patriotic act and a practical deed in support of our Kampuchean friends, who are shedding blood for China in the confrontation with Vietnam. More concretely, we were to oppose military service: this would both please Peking and save our children from the hazards of the battlefield and enable them to continue their easy town life. We had to foment a series of pupils' and students' strikes and get the students into the streets to disrupt public order and provoke the security forces into opening fire, in order to have a pretext to hold demonstrations protesting against Vietnam's 'ostracism, persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents'.

"During school hours the teachers were to try every means to inculcate these points into the students, arouse big-nation chauvinistic feelings, provoke national prejudice and enmity and build

up a strong anti-Vietnam mentality. We chose the most zealous students to write leaflets and slogans and post them up in places with big Hoa populations with the aim of distorting Vietnam's policy of transformation of capitalist trade and shifting capitalist traders to production, and opposing compulsory military service and the campaign for building new economic zones. In the Chinese schools where the medical service conducts blood tests in connection with tuberculosis vaccination we were to clamour protest Vietnam's 'organizing forcible blood donations for wounded soldiers in the border war with Kampuchea'. The students' parents would flock to the school gates and demand their children back, provoking an uproar outside the schools. Meanwhile, we would call for secret blood donations among the Hoa to send to our friends in Kampuchea. The students were to get the Hoa ready to leave and tell them that hundreds of Chinese ships would sail up to Saigon port to ship Chinese residents home ; the ships would be escorted by warships equipped with ultra modern weapons. Young red guards would pass round 'Green Books of Quotations' from Mao Tse-tung thoughts and recorded speeches of Peking leaders on tape, learn Chinese songs and shout Chinese slogans and be ready to put on a show of force by Chinese residents when the ships arrive."

THE YOUNG RED GUARDS' OATH

Ly Trung Kien continued :

"My Minh Duc School and other schools with large numbers of Chinese students, like Cam Long, Tran Tien, and Hau Giang have all succeeded to various extents in sparking off anti-Vietnam movements as our leading committee, the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi wished. We panicked the Hoa : they have sold

up their property and bought gold and diamonds, and are now only longing for the ships to come and take them away. I know that in some Chinese schools elaborate plans have been worked out for teachers and students to go to Hanoi, allegedly on leave to visit relatives or to sightsee in the capital city, where they would contact the Chinese Embassy or proceed to Lao Cai and Mong Cai and cross the border with false permits.

"Telling lies is unworthy of teachers and inciting people to crime is both inhumane and counter-revolutionary, but we could not help it: the Embassy gave us orders and the motherland was calling us.

"In the North, there are not as many Hoa schools or schools with large numbers of Hoa students as in Saigon-Cholon. So, the methods used to incite the Hoa students there to leave for China could not be as open as in the South."

The following confession was made by a young red guard named Luong Thien Phuc. He was born June 30, 1960, is of Kwangtung origin, and lives at 44-A, Hang Bo Street, Hoan Kiem District, Hanoi:

"Voong Man Ha used to invite me to his house at 38, Hang Dieu Street to listen to Western pop music, and to read Chinese knights novels and pornographic literature he got in Saigon. There were also books, newspapers and pictorial magazines he had from the Chinese Embassy.

"My father told me that Ha's wife, Phan Ai Thuyen, was his niece and that Ha's mother-in-law had moved South in 1954 and opened a bar at 32, Ly Thuong Kiet Street in the seaside resort of Vung Tau. Following the 1975 victory she fled to Hawaii and married an American there. She occasionally sent gifts to Ha and his wife, and Ha often told me rapturously about the high standard of living in the countries where Chinese residents made big fortunes, always drawing the conclusion that we should not

let this opportunity of the motherland's opening its arms to Chinese residents in Vietnam pass, since nobody would prevent us from going on to other countries after returning to China. He added that in my case, the Chinese authorities would arrange for my departure immediately, since I have relatives in the United States and Canada and that is a sure emigration guarantee.

"Voong Man Ha speaks both the Kwangtung dialect and standard Chinese fluently. He took me to the Chinese Embassy occasionally, whispering: 'You must come here to help the Embassy do their job; you must do your best for the motherland. Now the motherland is calling on the Hoa in Vietnam to return and contribute to national construction, so as many as possible of us must leave and the sooner, the better. Young men like you should go first. If you stay, you will sooner or later be compelled to adopt Vietnamese citizenship. How degrading for sons of a big nation to have to adopt Vietnamese citizenship.

"I remember that early in the second week of May 1978 Ha took me to the Chinese Embassy to ask for a visa application form. His manner and his many acquaintances at the Embassy showed that he was a frequent visitor here. He took a bundle of twenty visa forms, gave me one, and took the rest to Hai-phong where he sold them to the Hoa who had been panicked by the threat of war and were desperate to leave Vietnam as soon as possible.

"A few days later, Ha again took me to the Embassy, but not only to ask for the visa forms he would later sell. He was received by Ambassador Chen Zhi-fang who cautioned him to operate subtly and secretly: any slips might jeopardise the master plan. If anything happened during our tricky operation we were to report immediately to the leading committee for immediate assistance, the Ambassador added.

"Using a typewriter my father borrowed from his office, I typed out Chinese provocative documents to be spread among the Hoa students. Voong Man Ha told me to always obey the instructions of Ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary Chen Zhi-fang at all costs, despite all difficulties, hardships, dangers and sacrifices.

"At the end of May 1978, strangers kept coming to my house. My father will tell you who they were and what they said and did."

THE GREY MATTER NEEDED BY THE MOTHERLAND

Luong Thien Phuc's father is Luong Van Tho, of Kwangtung origin. He used to own a bookshop at 87 Hang Dao Street, before he moved to 44-A Hang Bo Street, and he is at present working in the Restaurant Service of Hanoi. He had the following to say about Voong Man Ha :

"Voong Man Ha has had close connections with the Chinese Embassy for a long time. After Mr. Liao Cheng-zhi made his first statement about Chinese residents in Vietnam, Ha's visits to the Embassy became more frequent. Ha was also seen making repeated trips to the border, as guide for Hoa from Hanoi returning clandestinely to China via Lao Cai and Cao Lang. Many Hoa from Saigon were billeted by Ha at various places in Hanoi. Ha's house was one of the headquarters from which false news was spread and where plans were discussed for carrying out the agitation programme for the mass exodus of the Hoa. My son was drawn into this group, but he was not the only one picked out by Ha. I too was pressed by strangers to leave for China.

"One morning while I and my wife were at our offices, my children at school, and only my mother was at home, two men in grey Chinese-style suits

came to our house. One of them asked my mother in broken Vietnamese: 'Is this the house of Mr 'Thỏ?' (1) My mother told them: 'There is no one in this house of that name. Would you write down the name in Chinese?' The man tore a piece of paper out of his notebook and wrote the name. My mother was highly amused: 'This is "san" all right but it's wrongly transliterated by "Thọ" (2) in Vietnamese. But I can see you want to see my son, so please come back after half past four. Could you give me your address?' But the two just bowed and went out.

"On the morning of April 30, 1978, my mother was out for a Buddhist mass, my wife had gone to the market, my children were all away, and I was alone at home lying on a bed and reading 'The Frail Thread', a Soviet detective novel. Suddenly someone knocked at the door and called my name in Kwang-tung Chinese. A man entered. I asked him to take a seat.

'I'm afraid I don't know you, or what the purpose of your visit is.'

'I am Chang, and I have come to visit you in the name of the motherland,' he said. I did not quite understand, so I asked him again: 'You mean you are a representative of the Vietnam Fatherland Front?'

'No.' And he changed to standard Chinese. 'I am a representative of our motherland.'

"Then he opened his briefcase and took out a book of quotations of Mao Tse-tung thoughts, the fifth volume, in a brand-new green cover with a gilded title. From the middle of the book he produced a

(1) Thỏ means rabbit in Vietnamese.

(2) Thọ means longevity in Vietnamese.

sheet full of beautifully printed Chinese characters which looked like a medical prescription.

"He said: 'Today I have been charged by the motherland to come here to tell you that the motherland is asking you to return.'

'Could you tell me what I have been called back for?'

'To build the country.'

"I was surprised and moved.

'But surely if the motherland really needs us back, she needs scientists and others with a high cultural level. I cannot even read Chinese properly, so what can I offer the motherland?'

"The man smiled, pointing to my head, and said: 'But the motherland needs what grey matter you've got in your head. It doesn't matter if your Chinese is not very good: eighth grade secondary school is quite enough for the time being. Once back home you'll be able to take some refresher courses, and one year will be enough for you to complete your education. There are not many in the motherland who are better off than you in terms of education. Many young people are still illiterate, and half of the population still have very limited vocabularies. Don't you worry. To you personally and some others who are special cases, I can swear upon my honour that back home you will be appointed to a privileged post and will not have to go to the farms. The motherland badly needs persons like you who have acquired deep knowledge of the people and situation in Vietnam over the past thirty years. A lot of elderly people no longer think clearly, while the young don't nearly know anything. You belong to a Vietnamese organization, and that means that you have been able to go deep into Vietnamese affairs. The motherland badly needs your "living knowledge".'

"Chang went on :

"The Chinese "gang of four" 's policy with regard to Chinese residents differed from one country to another. Now that this gang has been smashed this has all been reviewed and we are trying to rally all overseas Chinese under our flag. We are greatly concerned with the moral and material strength of our overseas compatriots whose thoughts are constantly with the motherland. With regard to the Chinese in Vietnam, the motherland will from now on give them prime attention. I advise you to return without delay, and the sooner, the better. Any delay or hesitation will only count against you.'

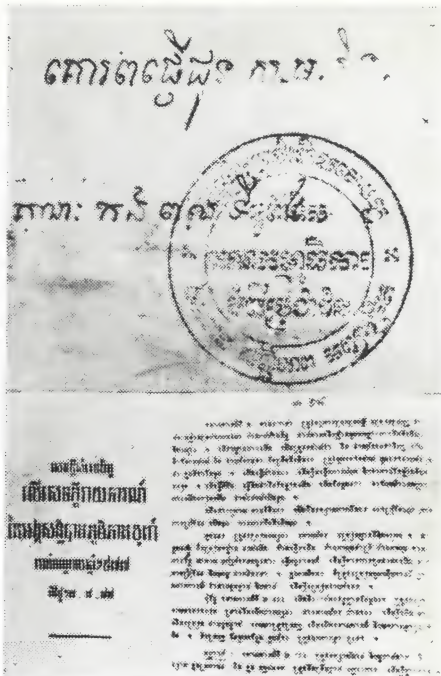
"When he left, I saw him to the end of the staircase and asked for his address but he did not say a word.

"A few days later, I was passing by the Chinese Embassy and saw a big gathering of Hoa there. Out of curiosity, I edged in to see what was happening. I saw the same Chang and another staff member of the Embassy speaking to the crowd. He turned out to be member of the Embassy staff."

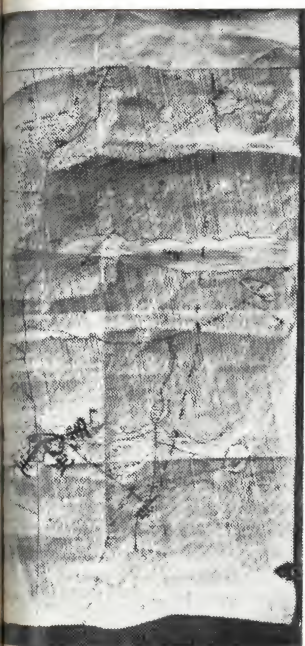
THE BEST "VICTIMIZED CHINESE RESIDENTS"

When the agitation workers had succeeded in herding a great number of Hoa in northern Vietnam into China within a short period of time, in conjunction with noisy protests from China, Peking began to grab for its strategic target : Saigon. Orders came for La Giang Dong and Mac Nguyet Quyen (Haiphong), Tran Hoat, To Minh Nguyen, Trieu Diem Hoa and Au Duong Duc (Hanoi), Ly Nghiep Phu, Ly Gia Tuong, Thu Di, Hoang Van Quang and numerous others in Saigon to quickly organize escape routes for the best of the "victimized Chinese residents."

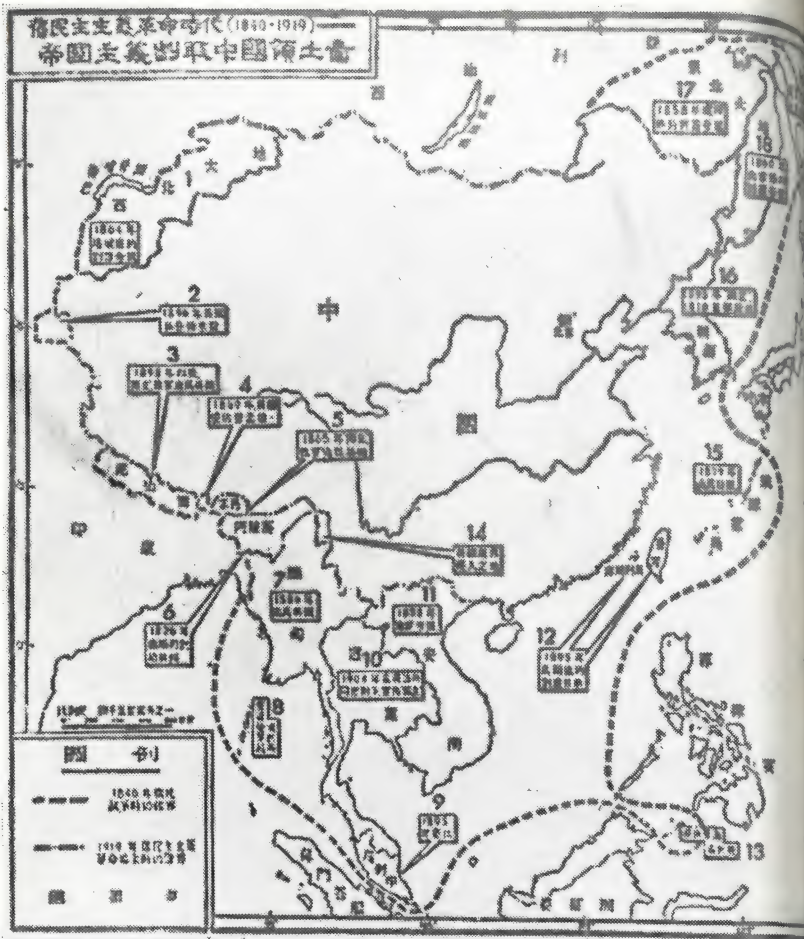
REMEDITATED ATTACKS



On the last page of the Kampuchean Eastern Zone resolution dated July 17, 1977 we read :
 "...We must cross over to stop and annihilate them on their own land, and not in separate spots or areas, but in the whole border area..."



Kampuchean map of operations and plans for attacks on Tan Lap commune, Tan Bien district, Tay Ninh province, captured in a battle on September 26, 1977.



A map of China published in 1954 and printed in a book entitled "A Historical Sketch of Contemporary China". It includes land termed by Chinese leaders "Parts of Chinese territory appropriated by the imperialists during the period of (Chinese - Ed.) democratic revolution (1840-1919)": Mongolia, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Burma, Malaysia, Thailand, a part of India, the Japanese Ryukyu islands, and parts of Soviet territory in Kazakh, Kirghiz and Tadzhik Soviet Socialist Republics.

CHINESE WEAPONS USED BY KAMPUCHEA AGAINST VIETNAM

China has supplied Kampuchea with tens of thousands of tons of weapons and war materiel.

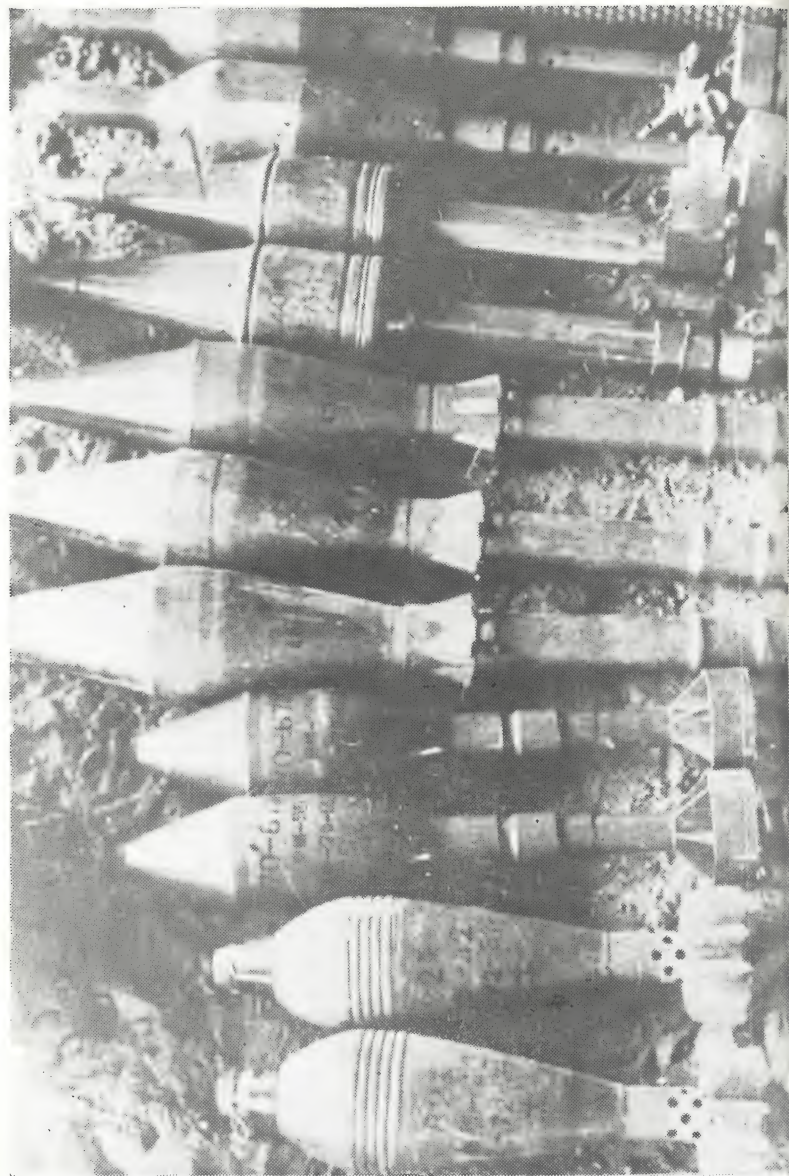
Chinese weapons captured during Kampuchean encroachments on Kien Giang, An Giang and Tay Ninh provinces.



75mm guns.

Improved B.41 bazookas, serial numbers 105.336, 306.934 and 731.651



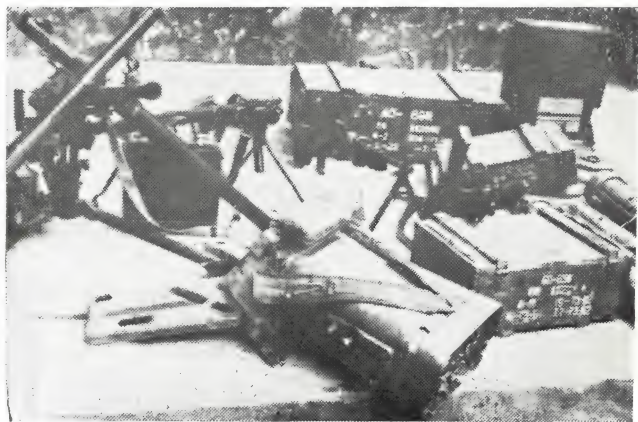


Mortar, and B-40 and B-41 shells.



Water mines.

Ammunition cases.





VICTIMS OF KAMPUCHEAN MASSACRES ON VIETNAMESE TERRITORY

All 13 members of Mr Lam Thanh Tam's family in Tan Lap commune, Tan Bien district, Tay Ninh province were killed by the Kampuchean armed forces in their attack on the night of September 24, 1977.

All 6 members of Mr Tran Van Ben's family in Binh Hoa commune, Moc Hoa district, Long An province were killed and then thrown into a fire by the Kampuchean armed forces in their attack on February 8, 1978.





Some of the hundreds of victims of massacres by the Kampuchean armed forces on the fields of An Dinh, one of the five hamlets of Ba Chuc commune, Bay Nui district, An Giang province, in their attacks between April 23 - 30, 1978.

Religious people were also killed.



VICTIMS OF THE POL POT — IENG SARY CLIQUE REGIME

On orders from Angkar, the executioners cracked the skulls of those attacked during the purge with pick-axes. Pol Pot has said : "We must purge 10 per cent more of the population."



Les déportés des villages de la région de Phnom Penh sont obligés de travailler à la rizière.

Human draught
power for the
ploughs.

une p. n. semaine. Après la défaite de l'Armée des armées du général Lou Nor...



La forêt défrichée, un attelage humain de six hommes tire la charrue dans la région de B...



What is this Kampuchean woman thinking of ?

Kampuchean refugees keep arriving in Vietnam.





Head honze Som Sam, 67, of Ta Penh pagoda in Sang Kê village, Nom Rom district, Svay Rieng province.

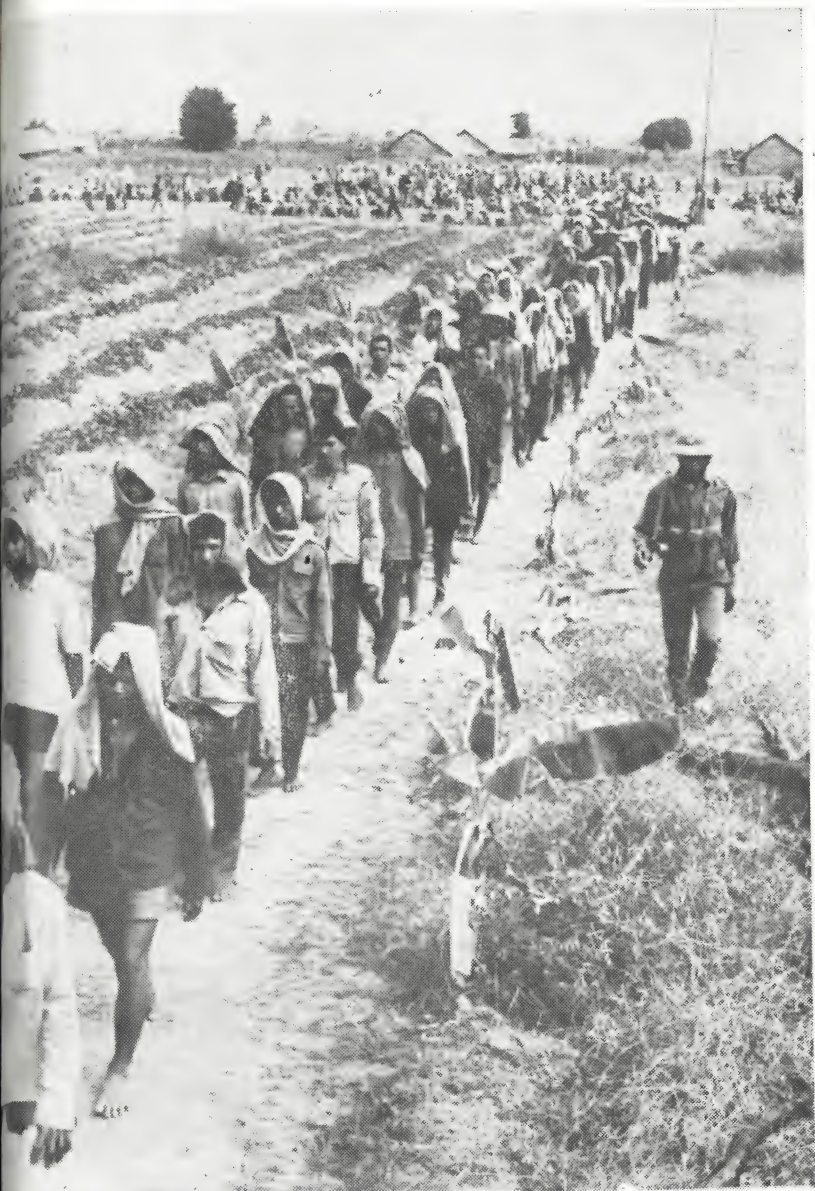


Ms Chung Eng, 27, of Kompong Cham province, tells of the ill-treatment and massacre of her family by the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary clique since it came to power in April 1975, when her family was driven out of Phnom Penh.

**THE KAMPUCHEAN ARMED
FORCES ARE PUNISHED.**

K a m p u c h e a n
troops annihilated
during an en-
croachment ope-
ration on Phu
Cuong, Bay Nui
district, An
Giang province.





... and others captured during the same encroachment.



Un Sarœun, 16, of Prey Veng province, a soldier of Company 3, Battalion 82, Regiment 2, and Xuon Suoi, 13, of Company 2, enlisted on September 5, 1977 together with 30 other children, and were captured by the Vietnamese armed forces on June 5, 1978.

Au Duong Duc, 39, of Kwangtung origin, lives at 79 Hang Buom Street, Hoan Kiem District, Hanoi, and has related how he was rewarded for his work by the "leading committee."

"I was involved in setting up a liaison route for Hoa people from Saigon coming to Hanoi and going on to Lao Cai and Mong Cai before illegally crossing the border into China. Mac Nguyet Quyen, who lives in Le Chan District in Haiphong, first introduced me to Hoang Van Quang, 41, a truck driver of the Dien Bien transport company, living at 98, Le Lai Street in Ho Chi Minh City. Quang gave me the names of a number of Hoa who wished to return to China as soon as possible. He said the price had been fixed as follows: six taels of gold for an adult and two for a child. This included the cost involved in getting false permits. Other expenses and travelling fees during the trip are covered by people themselves. Quang had closed bargains with six big Hoa capitalists already. For getting false permits, I was introduced to a man called Luong, when I arrived in Saigon. He was a former employee of the Ministry of State Farms, who after the liberation of southern Vietnam was transferred to the Chemical Products Assembly Company in Saigon. He lives at 417, Dien Bien Phu Street, in the 3rd District. Luong in turn introduced me to Huynh Nhu Hoc, a teacher at the College of Pharmacy, who agreed to provide six false passes, an introductory letter, and certificates that the six men concerned were students of the College of Pharmacy being sent to Hanoi for further training. The six-men group was headed by Tu Le Hoa. Before leaving for Hanoi, Tu Le Hoa handed me ten taels of gold, promised to give me another twelve on arrival in Hanoi, and after crossing the border he would give me a personal bond for the remaining amount to be picked up from Mrs Thu Di in Nguyen Huy Duong Street.

"Once in Hanoi, I took the 'students' to the home of my mother, Mrs Tran Yen Ngoc, in Ai Mo Street, Gia Lam town, Hanoi. Later, we moved them to Tu Vinh's in Day Thép Street, Lang Son town, and asked Tu Vinh to take them to Canton for a reward of 5,000 *dong*. But the plan failed to materialize. I took them back to Hanoi where they were put up at Lang Tinh Quang's, 23 Nguyen Trung Truc Street. A few days later, Lang and I took them to Haiphong where we were lodged at the home of Au Duong Phuong, who is my uncle, at 135 Phan Boi Chau Street. From Haiphong we went to Mong Cai, then gave 50 *dong* to Thu Sang, a local inhabitant, to take the six men to China. These Hoa people wanted to go direct to Canton and not to stop at the border checkpoints for fear of being sent to State farms. But again the plan failed. Later I had to hire Cau Lau Giong, Ung Phi and Mat Sat in Tho Xuan (Mong Cai), at the cost of 3,200 *dong*, to take them directly to Canton. The three men forded the stream at the border and went to Tung Hsing to buy permits from a commune in Tung Hsing at the price of 700 *yuan* (Chinese currency). When the three men had received all the promised 3,200 *dong*, one of them used a rowboat to take the six Hoa to Feng Sing (Kwangtung) and then to Canton.

"The six Hoa gone, Tu Le Hoa wrote me a bond for the remaining gold from Thu Di. During this trip to Saigon, Quang asked me to help another four Hoa to return to China. Seeing my hesitation, Quang raised the price to eight taels of gold for each person. I couldn't refuse. On the previous trip I had offered Luong and Hoc 1,500 *dong* and treated them generously at restaurants. This time I offered Luong 1,000 *dong* to provide false permits to Hanoi and an introductory letter certifying that the four men in question were cadres of the forestry service being sent to the capital city to get experience in forest protection. The four-man group was headed by Tran

Ngoc Yen living in Dong Khanh Street. Before leaving Saigon, Tran Ngoc Yen delivered half of the gold promised (16 taels) to encourage me to make the trip quickly."

THE LEADER LIES LOW

Ly Nghiep Phu continues :

"In early January 1978, Liao Cheng-zhi made public China's new policy toward overseas Chinese at a meeting of the Central Overseas Chinese Commission. Our working group in Saigon was informed of the decision several days in advance by the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi, and we were told by the Embassy to be ready to tune in to Radio Peking and record Liao's speech on the new overseas Chinese policy since it was a basic propaganda document for work among the Hoa communities. We were told to go in force and visit the Hoa and get news whispered to all Hoa families, schools and every Hoa in public offices and factories so that everybody listened to the speech. After breaking the news we would tell them : 'From now on, overseas Chinese can hold up their heads. The Hoa in Vietnam are given preference by the motherland and should organize a unified front of Chinese residents directly under the Embassy in Hanoi with the aim of defending all the rights and interests of all Chinese residents. The world is in a turmoil and Vietnam will sooner or later become a battlefield. If they stay, the Hoa will be prey to the flames of war and will die either of Chinese bombs and shells or from the revengeful hands of the Vietnamese. Only those with special missions should stay, while the rest must quickly leave this country, the sooner, the better. This is an opportunity to serve the motherland and also to safeguard one's own interests. The motherland will use all means at its disposal to bring Chinese residents home. Those who

have relatives in foreign countries will be allowed to join them if such connections can be proved. If they wish, Chinese residents in Vietnam may return to their birth places to be near their ancestral tombs.'

"We were informed that in the North secret but urgent preparations were being made to launch a campaign among the Hoa in the northeastern provinces, on Cat Ba and Cat Hai Islands, in Haiphong, Hanoi and other towns with big Hoa populations, to get them to return clandestinely to China, so that when orders came from Peking the Hoa all over Vietnam would leave their homes and fields in a real mass exodus. The messengers sent to Saigon by the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi, such as Tran Hoat, Tran Truong Giang, Vuong Nhu all told me that Lieu Thang, once a "leader" of the cultural revolution in Hanoi, Haiphong, Quang Ninh... was still very much part of this campaign, in spite of his advanced age. He was an important personality in the context. Before their missions to Saigon, Tran Hoat, Tran Truong Giang, Hoang Duong Thanh, Luu Khac Hien, Vuong Nhu and others would call at Lieu Thang's at 31, Gia Ngu Street in Hanoi, to seek his advice. Each time he would give a sumptuous farewell party to his "companions-in-arms," at which he gave them very detailed recommendations on how to establish contacts with and sound out the feelings of the Hoa capitalists, intellectuals, workers, teachers and students. I heard about him when I was a child. Mr Lieu then kept a traditional medicine shop in Cau Bo township in Thanh Hoa province. He once rallied Hoa youth to welcome the Chiang Kai-shek troops who entered North Vietnam under the Allied flag allegedly to disarm the Japanese army. During the cultural revolution in China he was seen heading the "young red guards" at the school for Chinese residents in Hanoi. When the school was evacuated to the countryside to avoid American air raids, Lieu and his disciples were seen on many nights, torches

in hand, going after some dissident Hoa teachers who refused to follow Peking's line because they saw it as contrary to the long Sino-Vietnamese friendship. Lieu accused them of being Chinese traitors who had filtered into the ranks of the Hoa to spy on them. It was Lieu himself who rallied the "tsaofans" and founded such bodies as "Revolutionary Teachers and Students," "Association for the Study of Quotations from Mao Tse-tung Thoughts," "Literary and Artistic Girls Association," "Association of Front Guards" aimed at controlling the Hoa, dividing them, distorting and casting a slur on Vietnam's undertakings and policies and sowing enmity against Vietnam.

"Lieu asked Tran Hoat and Tran Truong Giang to convey his encouragements and commendations to me and to urge me to try as quickly as possible and by every possible manoeuvre and strategem to collect Hoa signatures to collective petitions demanding that Vietnam restore Chinese citizenship to them. These petitions would be sent to Hanoi as a basis for the Embassy to wage a legal battle against the Vietnamese authorities, the Vietnamese National Assembly, Government and Public Security Service, as a means of popular pressure to create disorders and disrupt public security.

"To this end, we spared no trick or subterfuge. We sent our men to use deceit and flattery to induce the Hoa to sign, telling them that by doing so they were proving their loyalty to the Chinese motherland, demonstrating the strength of the Chinese residents, and showing their readiness to act at the call of the Chinese Embassy. This also helped us to sort out the trusted from the unreliable elements so that the Embassy could deal with them properly when the moment came. We told them: 'This is a rare opportunity for the Hoa. Why hesitate, what can a signature really matter?' If a man refused or showed hesitation our men would immediately go to his home and wait until either wife or husband was away to break

in and blackmail the other into signing. In this way, within a relatively short period we managed to collect thousands of signatures to collective petitions, all printed according to a draft supplied by the Embassy."

AND LY NGHIEP PHU'S FINAL TESTIMONY

Recently, Ly Nghiep Phu made the following additional confessions:

"As early as May 1978, I was notified that when Peking began its tirades against Vietnam, China would sooner or later take the unilateral action of sending ships to Vietnamese harbours to pick up "victimized Chinese residents." I still recall these words of our chief (meaning Chinese Ambassador Chen Zhi-fang): 'We have to make life impossible for those stiff-necked Vietnamese, and to make them open their eyes to the fact that by refusing to obey China they are harming their own interests...'

As is well known, the two ships, Changli and Minghua, sent by the Chinese authorities to Vietnam finally had to lift anchor and sail home lonely with no "victimized Chinese residents" on board.

CHRONOLOGY

October 4, 1977 : A delegation of the Communist Party and Government of Democratic Kampuchea headed by Secretary and Prime Minister Pol Pot concludes a visit to China. According to the Western press, this visit was not only for the celebrations of the Chinese National Day, but had a more important aim : discussing joint China-Kampuchea policy toward Vietnam.

December 3-15, 1977 : Vice-Premier Chen Jung-kuei, Political Bureau member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, visits Kampuchea. Accompanied by Pol Pot, he tours the Northwestern and Western military zones, and the Eastern military zone along the Vietnamese border. Speaking at a reception in his honour, Chen declares : "No force on earth can destroy the friendly relations between China and Kampuchea, who will for ever remain comrades." On December 6, an *AFP* dispatch from Bangkok remarks that this is the first time a foreign official has visited the eastern part of Kampuchea and also the first time Kampuchea's number one figure, Pol Pot, accompanied a foreign delegation.

December 31, 1977 : At China's instigation, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique brings the Vietnam-Kampuchea conflict into the open. Before this date, China has repeatedly quoted reactionary west-

ern reports slandering Vietnam with "carrying out aggression against Kampuchea", "plotting to overthrow the Kampuchean leadership", "pressuring Kampuchea into an Indochinese federation", etc.

January 1978 : Vice President of the Chinese People's Congress Teng Ying-chao, after a visit to Kampuchea (January 18-21, 1978), tells visiting French Prime Minister R. Barre: "In China's views, Kampuchea is victim of Vietnam's aggression".

April 10, 1978 : Vice-Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Nguyen Duy Trinh sends a note to the Vice-Premier in charge of foreign affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, reiterating Vietnam's three-point proposal of February 5, 1978 aimed at settling problems in Vietnam-Kampuchea relations. The Kampuchean side refuses to accept the note.

April 22-30, 1978 : Six Kampuchean battalions make a surprise attack on seven communes in Bay Nui district, An Giang province, 16 kilometres inside Vietnamese territory, killing and wounding large numbers of civilians, mostly women, children and old people. In Ba Chuc commune alone, the intruders burn down 3,600 houses. The local armed forces punish the aggressors, putting more than one thousand enemy troops out of action. In Ba Chuc alone, 600 Kampuchean soldiers are killed.

May 15, 1978 : The Foreign Ministry of Democratic Kampuchea sends a message to the Foreign Ministry of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam raising four demands which it says Vietnam must comply with for a period of seven months before any talks can start.

May 19, 1978 : Chinese Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping in an interview with the US Publishers and Editors in Peking says he is surprised at the dark picture painted of Kampuchea in a speech by US Vice-President Mondale, and says : "While Mondale was touring Asia, Kampuchea was attacked almost daily by Vietnam."

May 22, 1978 : Three Kampuchean warships violate Vietnam's waters in Kien Giang province and attack Vietnamese fishing boats. The Vietnamese coast-guard hits back, sinking one of the intruding ships and putting the two others to flight.

May 23, 1978 : Kampuchean forces invade Phuoc Tan area in Tay Ninh province. The intruders are intercepted by the local armed forces, which put one company out of action, badly maul another and capture many enemy troops.

June 6, 1978 : The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam sends a note to the Foreign Ministry of Democratic Kampuchea containing two more proposals aimed at quickly ending the armed conflict, and at bringing about an early meeting between diplomatic representatives of the two sides to prepare for a meeting of the representatives of the two governments to settle problems in Vietnam-Kampuchea relations. The Kampuchean side rejects this proposal.

June 11, 1978 : In Tokyo, Kampuchean Vice-Premier Ieng Sary screens a film on the situation on the Kampuchea-Vietnam border (already shown at the United Nations). According to *Reuter*, the film shows that many weapons of Chinese make are being used by Kampuchea, including 130mm cannon, and patrol boats.

June 15, 1978 : Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping tells a Thai delegation led by ex-Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonawan : "Vietnam's ambition is to

encircle and dominate Indochina by means of an Indochinese federation."

June 30, 1978: The International Human Rights League publishes a 16-page report denouncing the Kampuchean authorities for carrying out genocide in the country, killing countless Kampucheans en masse since they seized power in April 1975. The report was prepared by French professor T. Mionon on the basis of interviews of hundreds of Kampuchean refugees in Thailand in August 1977.

July 3, 1978: *The New York Times* editorially denounces Pol Pot and his associates for having turned Kampuchea into the most isolated society in the world. The paper points out that only China which absorbs the major part of Kampuchea's small foreign trade and which supplies nearly all the weapons being used by Kampuchea, could have any real influence on Phnom Penh.

July 6, 1978: *The Far Eastern Economic Review* reports that China's Boeing 707 transport planes have recently increased their regular flights to Phnom Penh.

July 12, 1978: *The Chinese People's Daily* carries a commentary headlined: "Why Did Vietnamese Authorities Provoke Vietnam — Kampuchea Border Conflict?" This is the first time the Chinese press publicly voices its support for the Phnom Penh authorities in their conflict with Vietnam, linking the question of the Hoa "expelled by Vietnam" with the Vietnam — Kampuchean conflict.

— At the 13th meeting of the Vietnam — China talks on the question of the Hoa in Vietnam, the representative of the Consular Department of the Vietnamese Ministry of Foreign Affairs hands the representative of the

Chinese Embassy a list of 1,507 Chinese residents from Kampuchea who have taken refuge in Vietnam and say they are ready to return to China. The Chinese representative refuses to accept the list, contending that "this has nothing to do with the negotiations".

July 21, 1978 : AFP : A Chinese resident by the name of Soai Sao Lim, 56, who has just arrived in Bangkok, says that the Kampuchean authorities executed in the most barbarous manner many Chinese businessmen captured during the massive exodus from Phnom Penh to the areas bordering Thailand and Vietnam.

July 26, 1978 : Five battalions of Division 117 of the Kampuchean army intrude into the north-western part of Loc Ninh in Song Be province. The local army and people take the initiative in attacking the invaders before they regroup, wiping out two battalions, inflicting heavy losses on two others, and putting out of action a total of 450 enemy troops.

July 28, 1978 : In Belgrade Ieng Sary demands the expulsion of Vietnam from the non-aligned movement on the grounds of "armed aggression against Kampuchea, a member country". The demand is squashed by the general atmosphere of the conference.

July 29, 1978 : A top military delegation of Kampuchea headed by Vice-Premier and Defence Minister Son Sen arrives in Peking at the invitation of Chinese Defence Minister Hsu Hsiang-chien.

July 31, 1978 : Hsinhua News Agency : On the afternoon of July 31, Chairman Hua Kuo-feng says at a reception for Son Sen : "Your struggle is a just struggle and such a struggle is bound to win. We support your struggle."

July 31, 1978: Kampuchean Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Ieng Sary arrives in Peking on an unexpected visit. This visit coincides with that of Defence Minister Son Sen.

— The military delegation headed by Son Sen calls on Chinese Defence Minister Hsu Hsiang-chien who is then hospitalized.

— At a reception for the Kampuchean military delegation, Chief of the General Staff of the Chinese People's Liberation Army Chen Hsi-lien says: "The people and the People's Liberation Army of China will resolutely stand on the side of the Kampuchean people and army", to oppose "Vietnam's aggression".

August 5, 1978: Kampuchean Defence Minister Son Sen and his delegation leave Peking, having declared at a reception the previous night: "We are very pleased with the complete success of our visit to China."

August 13, 1978: *Phnom Penh Radio* broadcasts the tall story that since the beginning of June 1978 Vietnamese aircraft have increased their operations over Kampuchean territory and that Kampuchea has shot down two Vietnamese MIG fighter planes over the Kampuchean province of Svay Rieng on August 11, 1978. *Vietnam News Agency* is authorized to refute this fabrication.

August 14, 1978: *Voice of America*: For the first time *Radio Phnom Penh* denounces Vietnam for having allowed the Soviet Union to instal military bases in Vietnam. But the radio does not say when and where these bases were established. Other sources say that Kampuchea's denunciation is baseless.

August 21, 1978: *Reuter* (Washington): According to estimates, as many as 2.5 million Kampuchians might have died for one reason or another

since the Khmer Rouge seized power three years ago. Senator McGovern tells the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that these evident atrocities dwarf Hitler's crimes.

August 22, 1978: UPI Commenting on Senator McGovern's appeal for international intervention against the brutal regime in Kampuchea, the spokesman of the US State Department T. Reston says that the United States has no intention of initiating an effort to settle the horrible human rights situation in Kampuchea by armed force, but wants to check this violation of human rights in Kampuchea through consultations with other governments and its efforts in the United Nations as well as other international fora.

APPENDIX

THE MASTERMINDS BEHIND THE MASSACRES IN KAMPUCHEA AND THE WAR AGAINST VIETNAM

For some time, virtually the whole world has known about and condemned the help given by the Chinese authorities to the reactionary Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique in massacring Kampuchean people and provoking a war of aggression against Vietnam.

Peking alone has kept silent. The Chinese authorities thought they could throw stones and get away with it. But their hands are stained with the blood of the Kampuchean people, of the Vietnamese people, and even of Chinese residents in Kampuchea. This can no longer be concealed.

With their backs to the wall, they are now compelled to raise their voices and try to justify themselves by resorting to a tactics in which they excel: turning black into white and accusing their victims of the very crimes they have perpetrated and are still perpetrating. The Chinese *People's Daily* on July 12, 1978 wrote shamelessly: "China, as a socialist country, regards her support and assistance to all just struggles against aggression as her own bounden internationalist duty" and therefore "it is only natural that China's sympathy and support now go out to Kampuchea which has become the victim of Vietnamese aggression."

Who is the aggressor, and who is resisting aggression; who is loyal to socialism and genuine proletarian internationalism; who is using the sign-board of socialism to oppose socialism, and working hand in glove with all forces of imperialism and international reaction in an attempt to realize frenzied hegemonistic and expansionist ambitions against the peoples of Indochina, Southeast Asia and other parts of the world? These are questions which it is time for us to clear up.

Progressive people at first could not believe their eyes when they saw the hell on earth in Kampuchea, a nation which had fought heroically against imperialist aggression. But there can be no more doubt now: facts have completely unmasked the abominable murderers. The tragedy of genocide has befallen the Kampuchean people, who gave mankind the splendid Angkor civilisation and who hold a worthy place in the community of nations today after fighting for self-liberation.

How woeful is the fate of the heroic Kampuchean people, who have been denied the laurels of victory!

Instead, on orders from their rulers, those traitors to the motherland and to the revolution, Kampuchians are having their skulls broken with pickaxes and their chests riddled with machine-gun bullets. And these extreme barbarities are said to have been committed in the name of socialism! These crimes of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of traitors are of a kind that neither heaven nor earth will forgive!

More damnable still, they are the results of cold-blooded calculations by people behind the scenes, who have bought over the souls and bodies of those traitors and turned them into instruments serving their counter-revolutionary global strategy. Even according to the most conservative estimate

the number of Kampuchean who have fallen victim to the bloody hands of this genocidal alliance now runs into millions.

This heart-rending sight of the blood-covered Kampuchean people is an extremely serious warning to the world's peoples never to forget these words of the great Lenin: the struggle against imperialism must always go hand in hand with that against pseudo-socialism.

The sight of the hell on earth in Kampuchea urges mankind to heighten vigilance against the terrible disaster which the forces of barbarity can bring to nations once they have seized the State coercive machinery and shown their true colours as traitors and renegades working hand in glove with imperialism.

What a precious piece of booty the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique, going down on their knees, are offering to imperialism and the international reactionary forces hostile to socialism!

Behind the signboard of socialism, they are taking Kampuchea back to the Dark Ages. These self-styled "communists" are in fact carrying out the most abominable anti-communism ever known in history by displaying a terrifying model of "communism" and employing horrendous measures aimed at realizing that despicable model.

Hitler opposed communism by fire and sword, using concentration camps and gas chambers. But he was less cruel and perfidious than those who have taught the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique how to apply so-called "radical communism", with "people's communes" which are in fact forced labour brigades of an age of slavery, where people live in agony under the guns and bayonets of a blood-thirsty army and secret police which turn the whole of Kampuchea into a horrifying concentration camp,

destroy whole towns and cities, villages and hamlets, disrupt families, separate wives from husbands, parents from children, deprive newborn infants of their mothers' milk, deny the young their right to study and recreation, and trample upon man's right to live free and happy.

Mankind still recalls with a shudder the "experiments" conducted by Hitlerite doctors without anesthetics on the bodies of anti-fascist fighters.

What will mankind think of the turning by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of the whole of Kampuchea into a huge and hermetically sealed laboratory in which they freely thrust their knife into the body of their nation, implacably cutting off organ after organ, ripping up cell after cell, in a bid to destroy the structure of an age-old national community. They want to create a monstrous society without family life, without schools, without markets, without currency, without songs and smiles, a society in which every human being is but a cipher and "Angkar" (the Organisation) shall decide which young man is to fall in love with which young woman.

To maintain their rule over that human community, and to eliminate all genuine revolutionary forces and all opposition forces likely to prevent them from realizing their anti-communism and their scheme to serve the imperialists and international reactionaries, the cruel nepotic regime of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary despots has only one method: to kill. Mass slaughter by guns and shells supplied by foreigners, and beating great numbers of people to death with hammers, knives, pickaxes and clubs.

The guns of the anti-US war had barely fallen silent when white terror swooped upon tormented Kampuchea. Millions of people were expelled from the cities and towns. The people throughout the

country were classified into two categories : the first category, those living in the former liberated areas, were put under close control, while the second category, those living in the areas until then held by the Lon Nol regime, were considered as untrustworthy and were subjected to harsh discrimination.

Immediately after coming to power, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique ordered the murder of all Kampuchians from village level upward with the slightest connection with the Lon Nol puppet administration and army and the Sihanouk regime, of all those guilty of even the least verbal opposition to the new rulers' brutal regime, of all Buddhist leaders and of all those regarded as members of the exploiting classes.

Hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese and Chinese residents, the overwhelming majority of whom were labouring people, were savagely persecuted and massacred. Most of the Cham nationals living in Kampuchea were mercilessly exterminated.

Only 13 days after seizing power, betraying the militant solidarity built with the blood of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique ordered their troops to attack the Vietnamese islands of Tho Chu and Phu Quoc, thus starting an atrocious war against our people which has been going on for more than three years now. Barely freed from US neo-colonialist domination, Kampuchea fell under the control of a group of adventurers who have since revealed themselves as counter-revolutionaries and the tools of another type of neo-colonialism. The heroic Kampuchean people, instead of marching forward in the flush of victory, received a blow of the pickaxe on their head, and were forced by the traitors to kneel down right on the land which had witnessed their victory.

What is the reason behind the tragic genocide in Kampuchea and the war between the peoples of Kampuchea and Viet Nam, who had once been united in a protracted struggle for the independence and freedom of their respective countries?

Who, besides the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of traitors with blood-stained hands, are the authors' of these crimes? For the sake of the suffering brotherly Kampuchean people now fighting for the very right to live, for the sake of the independence- and freedom-loving nations in Southeast Asia, and for the sake of the whole of mankind who cherish peace in this region and the rest of the world, the responsibility now rests with us Vietnamese to speak out and point our finger at the masterminds behind those crimes.

History provides an eloquent indictment. As soon as Western colonialists set foot in Indochina, a struggle for survival bound together the peoples of the three countries on this peninsula. The founding of the Indochinese Communist Party put that close relationship among the three peoples on the firm basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Ever since then, whether they were fighting side by side under the banner of the Indochinese Communist Party or, since 1951, under the independent leadership of their three respective parties, the militant solidarity between the Vietnamese, Lao and Kampuchean communists was continually consolidated and the militant alliance of the three peoples constantly developed its strength, constituting a decisive factor for the victory of the revolution in each country.

Relations among comrades who stood shoulder to shoulder, shared weal and woe and fought together against a common enemy, for a common ideal, remained wonderfully pure until the Pol Pot-Ieng

Sary opportunist elements returned from abroad and, after a period of time, succeeded in usurping the leadership of the Communist Party of Kampuchea. Completely divorced from the realities of the hard revolutionary struggle of the people and genuine communists of Kampuchea, and corrupted by bourgeois nationalism which made them consider the Vietnamese people as their "sworn enemy", these chauvinists hidden under the cloak of communism were attracted by the international reactionary forces with expansionist ambitions in Indochina and Southeast Asia as iron filings by a magnet. In the 1960's, Pol Pot found his way to Peking to meet the Chinese leaders at a time when the "Cultural Revolution" was raging in China.

And since "birds of a feather flock together", collusion and betrayal began there and then. The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique became a reserve pawn in the Chinese leaders' strategy of southward expansion into Southeast Asia. To achieve hegemony in Indochina and Southeast Asia, eventually to achieve hegemony over the whole world, is a golden dream long nurtured by certain Peking rulers.

But standing at the gateway to Southeast Asia, the staunch and indomitable Vietnamese people, although they will not invade anybody's territory, will never allow anybody to infringe their independence and sovereignty.

Independent and sovereign Vietnam, which can neither be subdued by power and violence nor bought off with money, naturally becomes a great obstacle to forces seeking to expand southward. However, while our people were carrying on their fight against US aggression, for national salvation — a great fight which had the sympathy and support

of the whole of progressive mankind including the Chinese people — the above adventurous forces dared not yet take any direct action against them.

In 1970, Lon Nol, a pawn of the United States and no stranger to Peking, toppled the Sihanouk administration and welcomed the United States into Kampuchea. For the sake of the common revolutionary cause, the Vietnamese people and their army, fearing no sacrifice, rushed forward and shoulder to shoulder with the Kampuchean people, checked the US aggressors and their henchmen, helping the Kampuchean revolution to stand firm and advance toward victory.

During that time, on orders from their masters, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary gang, while benefiting from our people's assistance, secretly made feverish preparations for the execution of their wicked plan.

Vietnam's victory and the United States' defeat brought about a new and excellent situation for the countries of Indochina, Southeast Asia and the whole world. Alarmed by these quick changes, the Kampuchean traitors were ordered into action to check Vietnam and prepare conditions for the expansionist forces to implement their strategy. The sky over Kampuchea had hardly been cleared of death-carrying US planes when it was crowded with aircraft flying in from China. The Kampuchean sea had hardly been cleared of Seventh Fleet ships when it was again teeming with Chinese ships bound for Kompong Som port with cargoes of modern lethal weapons for the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique. Weapons, ammunition, food... poured into Kampuchea in a steady flow from China, together with Chinese advisers who urgently helped increase the military forces of the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime and directed them into open campaigns of repression against the Kampuchean people and military attacks against Vietnam.

The criminal Peking — Phnom Penh axis is no longer a secret to the world. Such is the deep cause of and so began the tragedy of genocide in Kampuchea and the war against the Vietnamese people which have been going on for more than three years now. The evidence is overwhelming. The facts cannot be denied.

Those with their hands directly dipped in the blood of the Kampuchean and Vietnamese peoples are the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique of traitors. But the masterminds who hold even greater responsibility for those crimes are the Chinese authorities who are rushing headlong down the road of expansionism, full of hegemonistic ambitions.

Let us ask the Chinese leaders this question: by committing such immoral and atrocious acts against the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples, are you not running counter to the aspirations of the Chinese people and genuine Chinese revolutionaries who have long struggled for China's independence and freedom and friendship among nations? Are you not closing your eyes to the indignation of the people of your own country at your actions against the Vietnamese people who are their good friends and have conducted a fight full of sacrifices and hardships to defend their own independence and freedom and also to help in defending the security of China, and who have always striven to strengthen the friendship between the two fraternal peoples?

What has happened is indeed terrifying! But more terrifying still is the calculation of the gamblers: after all, Kampuchea is barely the size of a Chinese district and a few million Kampuchean lives can be sacrificed to pave the way for them to conquer the nearly four hundred million people in Southeast Asia! But this is only a crazy dream. Like the heroic Vietnamese and Lao peoples, the heroic Kampuchean

people have struggled and made sacrifices for their independence and for socialism and have recorded a historic victory. They have not done so eventually to become slaves to domestic traitors and foreign reactionaries. They will certainly have enough courage and strength to regain their right to live in freedom and happiness and to be masters of their beautiful country. In continuing their revolutionary struggle, the Kampuchean people will enjoy great sympathy and support from progressive mankind. And it is they who will have the last say.

(Nhan Dan Editorial, July 15, 1978)

NOTE FROM NGUYEN DUY TRINH, DEPUTY
PRIME MINISTER AND MINISTER OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF THE SOCIALIST
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
to

Ieng Sary, Deputy Prime Minister in charge of
External Affairs of the Government of Democratic
Kampuchea
(April 10, 1978)

Your Excellency,

Desirous of an immediate end to the present hostilities, on February 5, 1978, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam put forward a three-point proposal for an early negotiated settlement of problems concerning relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea on the basis of mutual respect.

Over the last two months that proposal has enjoyed the broad sympathy and support of public opinion all over the world. We have been waiting for a positive response from the Government of Democratic Kampuchea, but so far the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has not yet officially expressed its view on the matter.

Your Excellency,

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam would like to reiterate once again its three-point proposal, namely:

1. An immediate end shall be put to all hostile military activities in the border area, and the armed forces of each party shall be stationed within their respective territory five kilometres from the border.

2. The two sides shall meet at once in Hanoi or Phnom Penh or at a place on the border to discuss and conclude a treaty, in which they will undertake to respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; to refrain from aggression, from the use of force or threat to use force in their relations with each other, from interference in each other's internal affairs, and from subversive activities against each other; to treat each other as equals; and to live in peace, friendship, and as good neighbours.

The two sides shall sign a border treaty between the two countries on the basis of respect for each other's territorial sovereignty within the existing border.

3. The two sides shall reach agreement on an appropriate form of international guarantee and supervision.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam holds that for the two sides to sit at once at the negotiating table will be the most significant and practical action aimed at ceasing the hostilities, stabilizing the situation in the border area, creating an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust, and advancing towards the settlement of problems concerning the relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea. For its part, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam is ready to consider any constructive proposal the Kampuchean side will put forward during the negotiations.

In the interest of the Kampuchean people and the Vietnamese people, in the interest of peace and security in Southeast Asia and the world, the

Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam urges the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to sit down at the negotiating table with the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam as soon as possible, in order to discuss the settlement of problems concerning the relations between the two countries.

On the basis of mutual understanding and respect, in the spirit of anti-imperialist solidarity of the movement of non-aligned countries, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam will do its best to contribute to the success of the negotiations, in conformity with the ardent aspirations of the peoples of the two countries who want to live in peace, friendship and as good neighbours, and in conformity with the desire of peace-loving people the world over.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my high consideration.

NOTE TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

(June 6, 1978)

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam presents its compliments to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea and has the honour to clearly express Vietnam's views regarding the May 15, 1978 Note of the Kampuchean Ministry of Foreign Affairs as follows :

It is the principled stand of the Vietnamese people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to resolutely defend the independence, freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Vietnam, and at the same time always to respect the independence, freedom, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and of other countries, and to consistently unite with the Kampuchean people and tirelessly endeavour to quickly settle problems in relations between the two countries through negotiations.

In its February 5, 1978 Statement, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam put forward a three-point proposal :

1. An immediate end shall be put to all hostile military activities in the border area, and the armed forces of each party shall be stationed within their respective territory five kilometres from the border.

2. The two sides shall meet at once in Hanoi or Phnom Penh or at a place on the border to discuss and conclude a treaty, in which they will undertake to respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, to refrain from aggression, from the use of force or threatening to use force in their relations with each other, from interference in each other's internal affairs, and from subversive activities against each other, to treat each other as equals, and to live in peace, friendship and as good neighbours.

The two sides shall sign a border treaty between the two countries on the basis of respect for each other's territorial sovereignty within their existing borders.

3. The two sides shall reach agreement on an appropriate form of international guarantee and supervision.

The aforesaid three-point proposal has been widely approved and supported by world public opinion, but the Government of Democratic Kampuchea has not yet officially expressed its attitude. On April 10, 1978, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam addressed a note to the Deputy Prime Minister in charge of foreign affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, reiterating the three-point proposal and requesting a positive response from the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. Most regrettably, the Kampuchean side refused to accept this note.

As the Vietnamese side has pointed out on many occasions, in order to have a pretext for launching a border war against Vietnam, the Kampuchean side has unceasingly and slanderously accused Vietnam

of carrying out aggression and subversion against Kampuchea, and of forcing it into an Indochinese federation. In its May 15, 1978 Note, the Kampuchean side took these slanderous allegations as a basis on which to demand that Vietnam meet four conditions during a seven-month period, from then to the end of 1978, before the two sides can meet. The Vietnamese people and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam resolutely reject these absurd demands, because they are aimed only at deliberately prolonging the border war and undermining the settlement of problems in relations between the two countries through peaceful negotiations.

Desiring to put an immediate end to the armed conflict and an end to the bloodshed, and to come to the negotiating table at once to settle problems in relations between the two countries, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam now proposes that :

1. The two sides shall issue a joint statement, or each side shall make a separate statement, on ceasing all hostile military activities in the border regions at the earliest date possible to be agreed upon by the two sides, and to station their armed forces within their respective territories, five kilometres from the border.

2. On the same date, the diplomatic representatives of Vietnam and Kampuchea in Vientiane or in another mutually acceptable capital shall meet to discuss and quickly reach agreement on the date, place, and level of a meeting between representatives of the Vietnamese Government and the Kampuchean Government, to settle problems in relations between the two countries.

The Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam hopes that the Government of Democratic Kampuchea will give an early positive response to the aforesaid proposal, in the immediate and long-term interests of the Kampuchean and the Vietnamese peoples, and for the benefit of peace and security in Southeast Asia and the world.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam takes this opportunity to renew to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea the assurance of its high consideration.

XUAN THUY'S STATEMENT AT THE JULY 29 PRESS CONFERENCE IN HAVANA

On July 29, 1978 Xuan Thuy, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Vice-Chairman and Secretary-General of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly and head of a Vietnamese Party and Government delegation visiting Cuba, held a press conference on the relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea and between Vietnam and China at the International Press Centre of the 11th World Festival of Youth and Students in Cuba.

The full text of the statement follows :

I know that you have been following the situation in Vietnam, in particular the relations between Vietnam and Kampuchea and between Vietnam and China. I wish to avail myself of this occasion to talk to you about these problems.

The Vietnamese people experience more than 30 years of continual war, against the French colonialists and then against the US imperialist aggressors. After winning complete independence and freedom in Spring 1975, our people only desired a lasting peace to rebuild their country and build a happy life for themselves. It is regrettable that our neighbours, Kampuchea and China—formerly our close friends—should suddenly engage in actions that have caused us difficulties.

ON VIETNAM — KAMPUCHEA RELATIONS

During the two wars of resistance, first against the French colonialists, and then against the US imperialists, the peoples of Vietnam and Kampuchea fought shoulder to shoulder and supported each other, and we, Vietnamese, did all we could for our friends until the Kampuchean revolution ended in victory.

To our surprise, no sooner had we completely liberated southern Vietnam on April 30, 1975 than the Khmer Rouge armed forces attacked our islands of Phu Quoc and Tho Chu in early May 1975 and took away more than 500 Vietnamese civilians to unknown destinations. Our repeated demands for their release remain to this day unanswered.

Then, hardly had the affair of these islands been settled when the Kampuchean armed forces attacked us across our mainland borders. Wherever they went, they killed all, burnt all and looted all, committing barbarous crimes reminiscent of medieval cruelty against the Vietnamese people. Meanwhile, the Kampuchean authorities slanderously charged Vietnam with aggression and subversion and with pressuring Kampuchea into joining a so-called "Indochinese federation" which would be dominated by Vietnam. We have on many occasions explained to them that these charges are unfounded and told them not to indulge in such fabrications. Finally, we had to completely reject their slanderous allegations.

On February 5, 1978, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam put forward a three-point proposal for negotiations:

1. An immediate end shall be put to all hostile military activities in the border area, and the armed forces of each party shall be stationed within their respective territory five kilometres from the border.

2. The two sides shall meet at once in Hanoi or Phnom Penh or at a place on the border to discuss and conclude a treaty, in which they will undertake to respect each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; to refrain from aggression, from the use of force or threatening to use force in their relations with each other; from interference in each other's internal affairs, and from subversive activities against each other; to treat each other as equals; and to live in peace, friendship, and as good neighbours.

The two sides shall sign a border treaty between the two countries on the basis of respect for each other's territorial sovereignty within the existing border.

3. The two sides shall reach agreement on an appropriate form of international guarantee and supervision.

The Kampuchean side refused to negotiate. On June 6, 1978, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam reiterated the above three points and proposed another two points for negotiations:

1. The two sides shall issue a joint statement, or each side shall make a separate statement, on ceasing all hostile military activities in the border regions at the earliest date possible to be agreed upon by the two sides, and to station their armed forces within their respective territories, five kilometres from the border.

2. On the same date, the diplomatic representatives of Vietnam and Kampuchea in Vientiane or in another mutually acceptable capital shall meet to discuss and quickly reach agreement on the date, place, and level of a meeting between representatives of the Vietnamese Government and the Kampuchean Government, to settle problems in relations between the two countries.

The Kampuchean side has left our proposal unanswered, while its armed forces have continued attacking Vietnam along the border.

To protect the Vietnamese people's lives and property and defend Vietnam's territory, our local armed forces have no alternative but to fight back and repel the intruders across the border. At the same time, we treat captured Kampuchean soldiers with humanity and Kampuchean refugees with fraternity. The Vietnamese Government is still waiting for an appropriate response from the Kampuchean authorities to its fair and reasonable proposal for negotiation.

We have long been aware that China stands behind Kampuchea; but so far have refrained from speaking out. But China itself recently admitted this fact publicly.

ON VIETNAM — CHINA RELATIONS

The striking fact here is that the Chinese side has fabricated a story of "Vietnam persecuting and expelling Chinese residents" and used it as a pretext to cut off its aid to Vietnam, withdraw its experts from Vietnam, and close down the three Vietnamese consulates general in China.

As early as May, 1978, the SRV Government sent a note to the Government of the People's Republic of China, making clear that Vietnam does not oppose China, nor does it persecute and expel Hoa people, and that should any differences arise from this question, the two sides should immediately appoint competent representatives for talks. The Chinese side turned down our proposal for negotiations and insisted upon sending ships to the ports of Haiphong and Ho Chi Minh City to pick up "victimized Chinese residents".

The Vietnamese side answered that although there were no "victimized Chinese residents" in Vietnam, for the sake of friendship, we agreed to let Chinese ships enter Vietnamese ports to pick up any Hoa wanting to leave for China, provided that China scrupulously comply with international procedures and respect Vietnam's law, in which case Chinese ships may enter Vietnamese harbours on June 20, 1978.

However, discussions on procedures between representatives of the Vietnamese Foreign Ministry's Consular Department and of the Chinese Embassy in Hanoi have lasted more than one month now without bringing any result.

The Vietnamese side proposed that Chinese ships could berth in Vietnamese harbours for as long as three days but the Chinese side did not agree. Later, our proposal for a five-day time limit was also rejected by the Chinese side which insisted that Chinese ships would not leave Vietnamese ports until they had fulfilled their mission, without any limit of time. The Vietnamese side proposed that the shipping of Hoa people wishing to go to China should be completed within three months, and if necessary, Vietnam would allow Chinese ships to enter also Quy Nhon port. The Chinese side contended that it was impossible to decide how many months it would take a ship to embark its full load of Hoa passengers, and therefore, the Vietnamese side would be informed each time embarkation was completed on a ship and would begin on the next. Such an attitude stirred public opinion in Vietnam. People wondered: did China want to occupy Vietnamese ports? and how long were these provocations to last?

To break the deadlock, the Vietnamese side handed the Chinese side a list of thousands of Hoa people who had registered to leave for China, but

the Chinese side refused to accept it, arguing that in its view these people were not "persecuted Chinese residents". The Vietnamese side handed another list of more than one thousand Chinese residents who have been persecuted and expelled from Kampuchea and have taken refuge in Vietnam and who are really in distress, but the Chinese side also refused to receive this list. Vietnam then asked China to give a list of persons it regarded as "persecuted Chinese residents" but the Chinese side failed to produce any such list.

Before and during this episode, the Chinese side warned Hoa people in Vietnam that China was going to help Kampuchea send troops to fight Vietnam, that Soviet troops would move in to support Vietnam, and that Chinese residents in Vietnam would be the first victims, so they must quickly return to China to avoid death and join in national construction. The Chinese side said that those among the Hoa people who did not want to live in China would be allowed to go to Hong Kong or Canada and that those who refused to return to China would be considered traitors to the motherland. That is why group after group of Hoa people illegally left for China in panic. Others, after vainly waiting for the arrival of Chinese ships, finally sought to leave Vietnam by land, but then were stopped at border checkpoints by the Chinese authorities. These Hoa people, realizing that they had been deceived, angrily wept and wailed, for they had sold all their property and given up their jobs.

Faced with this situation, on July 19, 1978, the Chinese Foreign Ministry had to propose to negotiate with the Vietnamese side on the Hoa people issue at the deputy foreign minister level. Thus, the Chinese side, which rejected our May 1978 proposal for negotiations now proposes negotiations with us.

The Vietnamese side has replied that it agrees to start negotiations at the deputy foreign minister level on August 8, 1978 in Hanoi. I suggest that you follow these negotiations.

THE CAUSE : CHINA SEEKS TO STIR UP TROUBLE

China often claims that the superpowers are preparing for a third world war, that the Soviet Union is the most likely to kindle this war, therefore it is the enemy No. 1 of the world's peoples. Yet everybody can see that the Soviet Union is holding high the banner of peace, whereas China is actively seeking to buy weapons, aircraft, tanks... in order to prepare for war.

China often charges this or that country with expansionism, domination and hegemonism. This charge is also levelled at Vietnam, which has never had such intentions. On the contrary, it is the Chinese Government that nurtures a very big dream for expansion, domination and hegemonism, especially in Southeast Asia.

China is taking advantage of the more than 20 million overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia to stir up troubles for these countries. Although many Chinese residents only want to live in peace and earn their living, they are used against their will as pawns, as a weapon, by the Peking authorities. The Hoa people in Vietnam provide an illustration of this policy.

China's new policy toward overseas Chinese was publicized at the beginning of this year. It stated that even those Chinese nationals, having adopted the nationality of their countries of residence, are still Chinese by blood and that all overseas Chinese should join the broad front against hegemony, so

much so that they must oppose whoever is labelled as a hegemonist by Peking.

The Vietnamese people are very grateful for China's assistance in the past and wish the fraternal solidarity and friendship between Vietnam and China to last for ever. However, Vietnam has its independent and sovereign domestic and foreign policies which are not to China's liking. That is why China tries to put pressure on Vietnam.

China holds that the socialist system no longer exists. It puts forward a "three-world theory" and stands for an alliance with the U.S.A. and other reactionary forces to oppose the Soviet Union. As a matter of fact, China opposes socialism, opposes the national liberation movement, and opposes the struggles for peace and progress. It styles itself a Third World country in order to manipulate Asian, African and Latin American countries and realize its ambitions.

For our part, we Vietnamese continue to hold that the world now comprises two systems — socialism and capitalism. The Soviet Union has blazed the trail for socialism, has succeeded in building socialism, and is laying the material basis for communism along the path charted by Marx and Lenin. The three revolutionary currents — the forces of socialism, the national liberation movement and the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries — are eroding imperialism, colonialism, old and new, and racism.

Because Vietnam's appraisal of the situation and its policies differ from China's, especially regarding the latter's "great cultural revolution" and "three-world theory", China has left no stone unturned in its effort to create an unstable situation in Vietnam and sabotage Vietnam's peaceful national construction.

VIETNAM'S POSITION

We firmly maintain an independent and sovereign position in our domestic and foreign policies ; defend our territorial integrity and national unity, build socialism and a happy life for our people ; live in peace and friendship with our neighbours and all other nations ; strengthen solidarity and co-operation with other countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence ; contribute actively to the non-aligned movement ; oppose imperialism, colonialism, old and new, fascism and support all struggles for peace, independence, democracy and socialism.

Concerning Kampuchea and China, although the ruling circle in these two countries include forces bent on spoiling relations between their countries and Vietnam, we think that their actions run counter to the desires of their own peoples, and we still regard the Kampuchean and Chinese peoples as our friends. .

We stand for a negotiated settlement of the differences between Vietnam and China and between Vietnam and Kampuchea on the basis of equality, friendship, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

We believe that our stand is correct, and that we are acting in conformity with and in defence of justice.

We approve of President Fidel Castro's speech at the meeting in commemoration of the 25th anniversary of the attack on the Moncada barracks (July 26) in which he spoke of the achievements scored by the Cuban revolution and of international problems which are the concern of all of us. In that

speech he spoke frankly, forcefully, and to the point.

We thank President Fidel Castro for his words: "Now it is even more necessary to strengthen solidarity with Vietnam and the Communist Party of Cuba calls for the resumption of the activities of the Committee for Solidarity with Vietnam." We are grateful to the youth and people throughout the world for their sympathy with and support for Vietnam. We wish to thank First Deputy Prime Minister Raul Castro and Alain Gresh, Secretary of the International Coordinating Preparatory Committee of the festival who, at the opening ceremony of this great festival of the world's youth, expressed their solidarity with Vietnam.

WHY DID VIETNAMESE AUTHORITIES PROVOKE VIETNAM-KAMPUCHEA BORDER CONFLICT?

(Full text of *People's Daily*
Commentator, July 12, 1978)

The Vietnam-Kampuchea border conflict which has continued for more than three years has widened in scope in the past year. China has always advocated that international disputes be settled in accordance with the five principles of peaceful co-existence and through friendly consultation and negotiation. She has always been opposed to resorting to force or the threat of force in these matters. As to the dispute between Vietnam and Kampuchea, China has always hoped that both sides will create conditions to settle it through negotiation.

While ostracizing, persecuting and expelling large numbers of Chinese residents from Vietnam, the Vietnamese authorities are making a fuss about the Vietnam-Kampuchea border conflict in an attempt to discredit China. They have gone so far as to fabricate the lie that, acting "behind the scenes", China has not only instigated Kampuchea to oppose Vietnam but "provoked the Vietnam-Kampuchea border war." They have spread the slander that China is exercising "hegemonism" and seeking supremacy in Southeast Asia. Therefore, we have found it necessary to reveal the facts about the Vietnam-Kampuchea border conflict and thus refute the Vietnamese authorities' slander against China.

As is widely known, the existing boundary line between Vietnam and Kampuchea was delineated by the colonialists. It has meant the slicing off, and incorporation into Vietnam, of tens of thousands of square kilometres of land in lower Kampuchea to-

gether with some islands and sea areas which originally belonged to Kampuchea. Nevertheless, the Kampuchean governments, both past and present, have recognized this boundary line as valid. In 1966, Vietnam and Kampuchea, then named Cambodia, negotiated an agreement on the boundary question. On May 31, 1967, the Central Committee of the South Vietnam National Front for Liberation issued a statement which recognized and respected the territorial integrity of Cambodia within the existing frontiers. On June 8, 1967, the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam also issued a statement recognizing the existing boundary line between Vietnam and Cambodia. This was followed by a letter from Premier Pham Van Dong 12 days later (June 20) and one from President Ho Chi Minh on June 23, 1967 to the then Cambodian leader, reiterating that "Vietnam recognizes the territorial integrity of Cambodia within the present borders." In his letter, Premier Pham Van Dong said that Vietnam's statement of recognition "is the most righteous and solid foundation for our militant solidarity against the common enemy, the US aggressors, and the fraternity forever binding the peoples of our two countries."

This clearly shows that Kampuchea's attitude towards the Vietnam-Kampuchea boundary question has been reasonable and fair, and that Vietnam too also recognized the existing boundary line.

Following the end of the war of resistance against US aggression, however, the Vietnamese authorities made an about-face in their attitude towards the Vietnamese-Kampuchean boundary question. Since its invasion and occupation of Kampuchea's Wei Island in 1975, Vietnam has made incessant encroachments upon the territory of that country. In the 1976 negotiations between Vietnam and Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities even negated their commitment in 1966 and 1967 that they "recognize and

respect the existing Kampuchean boundary line." They said that the agreement they had reached with Kampuchea in 1966 was made under the duress of their fight against US imperialism. This was an act of bad faith aimed to achieve their own specific political end. Moreover, Vietnam has advanced a new boundary line. It is only natural that such unreasonable conduct is opposed by Kampuchea.

Immediately after the failure of their ambition to acquire more land at the negotiating table, the Vietnamese authorities resorted to the use of armed force. Beginning in September 1977, they dispatched large numbers of troops across the border in repeated large-scale attacks on Kampuchea. A war broke out in the eastern section of Kampuchean territory and in some areas the Vietnamese army penetrated dozens of kilometres into Kampuchean territory. This was by no means a mere border skirmish. It was a naked war of aggression carried out by Vietnam against Kampuchea. The Vietnamese authorities calculated that it would simply be impossible for Kampuchea with a population of only several million to stand up to Vietnam with a population of 50 million. They thought they would easily subjugate Kampuchea as soon as their troops marched in. But the Kampuchean people, with the fate of their nation hanging on a thread, rose up to defend their fatherland. They have put up valiant and staunch resistance and smashed repeated attacks by the Vietnamese aggressors. The Vietnamese authorities, having gone out for wool and come back shorn, set their propaganda machines rolling. They alleged that it was Kampuchea that had crossed the border and intruded into Vietnam. But they could deceive nobody. Indisputable acts demonstrated that it was the Vietnamese authorities who provoked single-handed the border conflict in an attempt to subdue and annex Kampuchea by armed force. The allegation of

the Vietnamese authorities about China "provoking" the conflict is outright slander.

The Vietnamese authorities have not only provoked the armed conflict along the Vietnam-Kampuchea border, but also conducted a campaign of subversion against Kampuchea. This is a concerted attempt to overthrow Kampuchea's revolutionary regime from within and without. In the name of captured Kampuchean personnel, the Vietnamese authorities have in recent newspaper and radio reports openly advocated the "building of bases" in Kampuchea and called for the overthrow of its legitimate government. Their flouting of the fundamental principles of international relations and their blatant acts of aggression against a neighbouring country have laid bare their determination to stop at nothing in their wild ambition to annex Kampuchea.

Repeatedly frustrated in their schemes of armed aggression and subversion against Kampuchea, the Vietnamese authorities now direct their fire against China. They slander China by accusing her of "provoking" the border conflict, but cannot produce any evidence to that effect. So they wantonly spread rumours and slanders against China, attacking her for supporting and assisting Kampuchea, as if Vietnam's defeat in the aggression against Kampuchea were caused by China's support for Kampuchea. These attacks and charges made by the Vietnamese authorities are ridiculous in the extreme.

It goes without saying that China, as a socialist country, regards her support and assistance to all just struggles against aggression as her own bounden internationalist duty. When the US imperialists launched aggression against Vietnam and Kampuchea, China did everything possible to support Vietnam and Kampuchea. The amount of her aid to Vietnam was several times greater than that to Kampuchea,

if not more. It is only natural that China's sympathy and support now go out to Kampuchea which has become the victim of Vietnamese aggression.

It is absurd for the Vietnamese authorities to try to use China's aid to Kampuchea as proof that China "provoked" the Vietnam-Kampuchea border conflict. It is illogical to say that a country is acting on the dictates of China just because it is receiving Chinese support and aid. China is supporting and aiding dozens of third world countries. But which of them is acting on the dictates of China? Has China given orders to any one among them? In granting aid to other countries China seeks neither for her own self-interest, nor for controlling these countries. She does so for the purpose of enabling the recipient countries to maintain and consolidate their national independence and develop their national economies self-reliantly and thereby benefit the third world people's common cause of opposing imperialism, colonialism and hegemonism, which, in turn, means assistance to China rendered by the recipient countries. China aided Vietnam during its war of resistance against US aggression precisely because the Vietnamese people were engaged in a just struggle against aggression and because the Chinese people considered it their duty as proletarian internationalists to give the aid. This is why China continued to take overall interest into consideration, adopt an attitude of restraint and tolerance and give all-out assistance to Vietnam during the latter's war of resistance against US aggression even when the Vietnamese authorities, while receiving large quantities of aid from China, were fanning national hatred in anti-China propaganda by digging up the historical fact that some Chinese feudal rulers had committed aggression against Vietnam. All this eloquently shows that China is not using her aid to dictate others. The Vietnamese authorities are in fact insulting the Kampuchean people and smearing China's

policy on foreign aid when they accuse China of using aid to dictate Kampuchea and provoke the Vietnam-Kampuchea border conflict.

The Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea has failed not because of China's support to Kampuchea. The Vietnamese authorities seem to have forgotten that the most essential factor in deciding the outcome of a war is not weapons, but the nature of the war and the support of the people. What was the deciding factor in the victory of the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against US aggression, if it were not their unified determination and confidence in fighting against US aggression. How is it that the Vietnamese forces that once defeated the US imperialists have now suffered defeat at the hands of the people's forces of Kampuchea? It is because the Vietnamese authorities have launched an aggressive war which finds no support even in Vietnam whereas the war being waged by the heroic Kampuchean people is a war against aggression and in defence of national independence and territorial integrity. The Vietnamese authorities may do well to draw proper lessons from this rather than give vent to their rage in an indiscriminate attack on China's meagre aid to Kampuchea.

It is ludicrous that the Vietnamese authorities, who attack China for supporting Kampuchea and accuse Kampuchea of "provoking" the border conflict at China's instigation, should at the same time talk profusely about Kampuchea's maltreatment of Chinese nationals residing there. Isn't this a case of slapping their own faces? According to the logic of the Vietnamese authorities, Kampuchea has acted at the instigation of China, but it is opposed to the very same China on matters concerning Chinese nationals there. How can this be possible! The Vietnamese authorities have been so addicted to rumour-mongering that they do not mind producing statements full

of inexplicable contradictions. It is the Kampuchean Government's policy to give equal treatment to both Chinese nationals and Kampuchean citizens, and allow Chinese nationals the right to free choice on the question of their citizenship. The Vietnamese authorities want to blame China for "provoking" the Vietnam-Kampuchea border conflict and at the same time seek to cover up their own criminal persecution of Chinese nationals by sowing seeds of dissension between China and Kampuchea. This dual purpose has failed them and their arguments are indeed untenable.

It is none other than the Vietnamese authorities, and not China, who dream of manipulating controlling and swallowing up Kampuchea and then lording it over Southeast Asia. The slanders of the Vietnamese authorities against China are just like a robber's cry of "stop thief."

People have seen that the Vietnamese authorities are confronted with the heavy and difficult task of healing the wounds of war and rebuilding and developing the economy after victory in the war of resistance against US imperialism. But the Vietnamese authorities have disregarded these pressing needs. They are committing more manpower, material and financial means, and utilizing the great quantities of military aid they received during the war as well as the several billion dollar's worth of arms and armaments left by the United States, to reinforce their military build-up. It may well be asked, "why have they acted in this extraordinary way?" Their own actions have given a very good answer.

Their victory in the war against US imperialism and the great amounts of arms now at their disposal have made the Vietnamese authorities' heads swell and their hands itch to get more. They style Vietnam as the "big power" in Southeast Asia, boasting that

Vietnam is now one of the few major military powers in the world. It is precisely with this "capital" that it dreams of becoming the overlord in Southeast Asia, and considers the rigging up of an "Indochina federation" with Vietnam at its head as the first step. Since Kampuchea firmly opposes Vietnam's ambition to achieve hegemony in the region, the Vietnamese authorities have no scruples about bringing pressure to bear upon Kampuchea by means of armed aggression and subversion.

The expansionist desires of the Vietnamese authorities go far beyond an "Indochina federation." Their ambition is much greater as can be clearly seen from their attitude towards the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The Vietnamese authorities, formerly opposing ASEAN and attacking it as an "imperialist tool", have suddenly changed their attitude toward ASEAN since the extension of the border conflict with Kampuchea at the end of last year. Flaunting the banner "for genuine peace, independence and neutrality in Southeast Asia", they urged ASEAN to undergo a structural reform with a view to "suiting the situation" and "bringing about regional cooperation" by replacing ASEAN with a so-called "Organization for Southeast Asian Regional Cooperation", an organization very similar to the "system of collective security in Asia" advocated by the Soviet social-imperialists. This, they say, will enable various Southeast Asian nations to gain "genuine independence". In other words, the Vietnamese authorities consider that the Southeast Asian nations have not yet gained "genuine independence" and require the "genuinely independent" Vietnam to cooperate with them and lead them. Does one need to explain further what part and role the Vietnamese authorities are thinking to play among the Southeast Asian nations?

The Vietnamese authorities' invasion of Kampuchea in its design to rig up an "Indochina federation"

and their activities in Southeast Asia have won the approval of the Soviet Union, which praised them for making "a constructive contribution to the spread of detente in Asia" and for having "opened new prospects for the relaxation of tension". The Soviet Union described Vietnam as a "firm outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia" and recently had it join "the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" (COMECON). This further proves that the Soviet Union is the behind-the-scenes supporter of the Vietnamese authorities in seeking regional hegemonism.

It has become quite clear that the border conflict between Vietnam and Kampuchea is by no means accidental. This conflict, together with the Vietnamese authorities' anti-China act, including the persecution and expulsion of Chinese residents in Vietnam and the using of the question of overseas Chinese to disrupt the relations between China and Southeast Asian nations, forms a component part of the whole plot. In this plot, the Soviet superpower with its own hegemonistic aims provides cover and support for the Vietnamese authorities' regional hegemonism, while the Vietnamese authorities serve as a junior partner for the Soviet Union. This is a new style of operating in the current international situation, and a new manoeuvre for Soviet expansion. People have seen one expression of this style in Cuba, and now see another manifestation in Vietnam. This is a phenomenon demanding close attention throughout the world.

The Vietnamese authorities can deceive nobody by its mean slanders against China. China has repeatedly and solemnly stated that she will never act as a superpower and never seek hegemony. China opposes superpower hegemonism as well as regional hegemonism. No matter how the Vietnamese auth-

orities smear China, China will continue to resolutely support the anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist and anti-hegemonic struggles being waged by the people of the world—including the Kampuchean people. The Vietnamese authorities' tactics of rumour-mongering to confuse the public can only deceive those who do not know the truth. Once the truth becomes known to all, the Vietnamese authorities' ambition for regional hegemonism will be laid bare in its true colours.

(Hsinhua News Agency, July 12, 1978)

NOTE FROM THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA
TO THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
OF THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM
(May 15, 1978)

Democratic Kampuchea has the firm will to live in peace and maintain close friendly relations with all neighbouring countries according to the principles of equality and mutual respect.

To create conditions for a quick solution of problems arising from the acts of violation and aggression committed by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam against Democratic Kampuchea, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea sends this note to the Government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam requesting it to take the following urgent measures :

1. Stop carrying out any attack of aggression, invasion and annexation against the territory of Democratic Kampuchea ; stop any act of provocation and violation against the territory, territorial waters and air space of Democratic Kampuchea ; stop strafing, shelling and bombing raids against the territory and territorial waters of Democratic Kampuchea ;

2. Stop sending spies to gather intelligence in the territory, territorial waters and islands of Democratic Kampuchea ; stop carrying out any act of subversion

and interference in the internal affairs of Democratic Kampuchea; stop carrying out attempts at coups d'état or other forms of activities aimed at overthrowing the Government of Democratic Kampuchea;

3. Definitively abandon the strategy aiming at putting Kampuchea under the domination of Vietnam in an "Indochinese federation" following the doctrine of "one party, one country and one people" in an "Indochina" belonging to Vietnam.

4. Respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea; respect the rights of the Kampuchean people to decide by themselves their own destiny."

If the Socialist Republic of Vietnam complies through concrete acts with the present four-point note within a period of seven months from the present date to the end of 1978, stopping during this period all acts of violation or aggression which encroach on the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of Democratic Kampuchea, then it will create an atmosphere of friendship and trust. In this atmosphere, the Kampuchean side and the Vietnamese side can meet to find, in all sincerity, a correct and definitive solution to the different problems.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea is of the opinion and is convinced that this is the only solution which conforms with the interests of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples, capable of fostering friendship between Vietnam and Kampuchea, between the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples, and allowing Vietnam and Kampuchea to live as good neighbours in peace and prosperity. This is the only solution which conforms with the principles of non-alignment and the interests of the

world's peoples and which would contribute to peace in this region.

If the Socialist Republic of Vietnam persists in committing acts of provocation, violation, aggression and annexation against the territory of Democratic Kampuchea, the so-called negotiations proposed by Vietnam are nothing but continual deception, and the independence- and justice-loving peoples in the world will feel more and more hatred for the aggressive and expansionist face of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam against Democratic Kampuchea.

(Translated from the French version
released by the Kampuchean side)

- **Facts about the “Border Conflict” between Democratic Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.**
- **Origins of the Problem and Steps to Be Taken to Solve It.**
- **Appendix : the Main Documents Issued by Each Side.**